

JPRS 77675

26 March 1981

Near East/North Africa Report

No. 2295



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets () are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as (Text) or (Excerpt) in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

26 March 1981

NEAR EAST/NORTH AFRICA REPORT

No. 2295

CONTENTS

INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

- Minister Reviews Resolutions of al-Ta'if Summit
(AL-MAJALAH, 7-13 Feb 81)..... 1

ALGERIA

- Maturity, Cohesion Mark Nonaligned Conference, Paper Claims
(EL MOUDJAHID, 15 Feb 81)..... 8
- Editorial on Nonaligned Conference
(Editorial, B. Amazit; EL MOUDJAHID, 15 Feb 81)..... 11

IRAN

- Liberation Movements Give Views on Gulf War
(KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL, 8 Mar 81)..... 13
- Militants Denounce Propaganda, Activities of 'Liberals'
(Editorial; TEHRAN TIMES, 1 Mar 81)..... 15
- Minister Deplores Absence of Industrial Activity
(Editorial; TEHRAN TIMES, 25 Feb 81)..... 17
- Development Projects Improve Economy, Society
(KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL, 22, 19 Feb 81)..... 19
- Arak Industry
Lorestan Projects
Kermanshaham Electricity Projects
- Inflation Taking High Toll on Industry, Agriculture
(Editorial; TEHRAN TIMES, 26 Feb 81)..... 21
- Inflation Defined as 'Approaching Limits of Explosion'
(HARDON, 20 Jan 81)..... 23

Carpet Exports Studied as Source of Revenue (KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL, 25 Feb 81).....	27
Progress on Neka Electricity Project Reported (KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL, 1 Mar 81).....	30
Council Reports Success of Goodwill Missions (KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL, 9 Mar 81).....	31
Briefs	
Ten 'Peykars' Sentenced	32
Cleric Reviews Achievements of Reconstruction Crusade	32
JORDAN	
Syrian Regime Said To Be Pursuing Same Course as al-Sadat's (AL-DUSTUR, 12 Feb 81).....	33
Motive for al-Sadat's Trip to Europe Discussed (Al-Bir; AL-DUSTUR, 12 Feb 81).....	35
Syrian Regime Compared to Armed Terrorist Gang (AL-DUSTUR, 11 Feb 81).....	37
LEBANON	
Vice President of Chamber of Deputies Interviewed (Munir Abu Fadil Interview; AL-BA'Y, 1 Feb 81).....	39
MOROCCO	
Twentieth Anniversary Throne Speech by King Hassan II (Hassan; L'OPINION, 4 Mar 81).....	44
SUDAN	
Opposition Leader Gives Views on Domestic, Arab Matters (al-Sharif Husayn al-Hindi Interview; AL-DUSTUR, 8-14 Dec 80)..	53

INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

MINISTER REVIEWS RESOLUTIONS OF AL-TA'IF SUMMIT

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 7-13 Feb 81 pp 1-5

[Article: 'Muhammad Hazali Evaluates for AL-MAJALLAH the Results and the Resolutions of the Mecca and al-Ta'if Conference']

[Text] The primary victor at the summit.

"It is hoped that Saudi Arabia will strive to implement the resolutions."

"The question of Palestine, including Jerusalem, was the primary victor at the summit."

The Third Islamic Summit Conference that was opened in the holy city of Mecca held its meetings in al-Ta'if. After it completed its business, AL-MAJALLAH asked a senior Arab official, Mr Mohamed Hzali, the prime minister of Tunisia and the chairman of his country's delegation to the summit, to analyze and evaluate the results and the resolutions that were issued by this conference regarding the question of Palestine and Jerusalem, Afghanistan, the war between Iraq and Iran or the other questions that are of interest to the Arab and Islamic world. Mr Hzali accepted AL-MAJALLAH's suggestion, and his evaluation and analysis of the results of the Mecca and al-Ta'if Summit were in response to several questions addressed to him by Mr 'Abd-al-Latif al-Furati, AL-MAJALLAH's correspondent in Tunisia.

Mr Mohamed Hzali's evaluation of the results of the Third Islamic Summit follows.

The convening of an Islamic summit conference is in itself a historic and a positive event. The fact that 38 heads of Islamic states and governments accompanied by hundreds of ministers, experts and officials who are responsible for the economic, social and cultural sectors should meet is no easy matter. The fact that the bonds of the Islamic religion would unite all of those is in itself a major gain and an [indication of] an increasingly more forceful awareness of the position of Islam as a religion, a culture, a population [group] and an economy in this world.

It is my belief that this meeting will intensify the feelings and

strengthen the conviction in the unity of the Islamic nation. This unity in our view is the unity of affiliation, the unity of rank and the unity of objective.

1. The unity of affiliation manifests itself in [the nation's] association with a religion, a culture and a heritage that are still vital and that have been vital and bountiful for 14 centuries. It means that we belong to an ancient nation with deep and solid roots. This affiliation is more eminent than racial descent, racial homogeneity, linguistic uniformity or geographic proximity since it is an affiliation with a hierarchy of higher spiritual values that ascribe to man a high standing in this world and charge him with a major responsibility. God made man His descendant on this earth; He gave him instincts for good and for evil and considered him responsible for his deeds, [both] good and bad. But this does not mean that one is to hold himself aloof from material things or stay away from worldly matters. It rather means that one is required to make an effort for human prosperity and to make a tireless effort to be creative and productive for the benefit of people and for the improvement of their status on a foundation of justice, dignity and striving for what is better.

2. The unity of rank signifies solidarity and clustering the efforts of the Muslim brothers in blocs in opposition to their enemies.

A. The Muslim brothers have an enemy in international Zionism, which is challenging hundreds of millions of Muslims. It is striving for the material, political and cultural elimination of the Palestinians, and it is making an effort to "Judaize" Jerusalem, thereby provoking feelings and sensibilities.

B. Muslims have an enemy in colonialism which is still diversifying its methods to pollute minds, to weaken [people's] will and to spoil their living. It is trying to maintain its economic control to keep Muslims in an inferior position.

C. Muslims have an enemy that manifests itself in ideological colonialism. [This enemy] assumes the form of spiritual values and pretends to be progressive so it can spread another kind of economic, political and cultural influence, utilizing an argument that some adolescent, zealous and vain young men who lack a firm, deep-rooted conviction find appealing.

3. The unity of objective manifests itself in the effort to eliminate social and economic backwardness; to create wealth and distribute it more justly; and to give equal opportunities to all Muslim men and women in all Islamic locations. The unity of objective requires solidarity, and it requires the wealthy Islamic nations to share the natural resources that were bestowed upon them by God, or the capabilities they gained as a result of those natural resources, with the Islamic countries that are less developed and less fortunate.

The unity of objective also means that Muslims shall not be impervious

and shall lack dignity and prosperity as long as there is a single Islamic country suffering from the evils of indigence, ignorance, disease and economic subordination. The Third Islamic Summit was thus able to intensify this awareness of our unity in all its dimensions. We therefore consider it to be a positive event in itself, and we hope that Saudi Arabia, as the current president of the Islamic Summit, will make an effort to execute fully in the next few years the resolutions and the directives that were approved by the summit.

The Practical Results

"What are the practical results of the summit?"

The practical results [of the summit] are numerous, and we can sense them on several levels.

1. This summit has contributed more [than any other summit] towards preparing [people's] hearts and clearing the air, and taking part in devising solutions for confronting the political and economic problems that exist among the Islamic countries. Among such solutions, for example, was the unanimous decision of the third summit to form an expanded committee that would be made up of the heads of Islamic states. This committee would be charged with the task of continuing the effort to settle the ongoing armed dispute between Iraq and Iran. Regarding the question of Jerusalem and Palestine, it was decided that the Jerusalem Committee be strengthened, that its program be reinforced and that confidence in its president, King Hassan II be restored so that it can continue its efforts on the political scene and in the media. [It was also decided] that communications with representatives of the Christian religion in all the western and Latin American countries be intensified for the purpose of tightening the grip around the neck of the Zionist enemy and foiling his "Judaization" and colonization plans.

The case was the same regarding Afghanistan. A unanimous decision was made to support the Afghan struggle for the evacuation of the foreign armies from this country and to enable the fraternal, struggling Muslim people, who are affiliated with the non-aligned group to determine their destiny and select the regime they want freely and without [anyone's] control.

From the economic aspect this summit produced a resolution which I consider to be decisive. I hope it will have a long-range effect on the future of building Islamic solidarity. I am referring to the allocation of 3 billion dollars to the development fund of the Islamic countries that are less developed. Prince Fahd ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz, the Saudi crown prince, pledged the sum of 1 billion dollars, whereas Kuwait allocated 500 million dollars. The United Arab Emirates also allocated 500 million dollars, and Qatar, 300 million. Thus, the total pledges that have been made to finance the fund amount to about 80 percent of the allocations that have been determined for the fund. This was done less than 24 hours after the proposal was made.

I am hoping that a beneficial operating framework will be established for this fund and that it will be effective, flexible and expeditious in implementing the policy that is designed for it to reinforce the effective solidarity among the Islamic nations. In reviewing the most important results of the summit I will not fail to mention the concern that was determined for the African scene which is facing difficulties and problems as a result of the continuous drought Africa has been having for years. This drought has left a large region of Africa in an extremely difficult situation characterized by the entrenchment and the growing gravity of the famine. The summit resolved to impose concrete and voluntary contributions that would be paid by the Islamic countries that can afford such payments to those countries that are being hurt by the drought, such as Mali, Senegal, Mauritania, Niger, Upper Volta and others. This would alleviate the suffering of the brothers there from the drought. This decision should invoke a new spirit of optimism and solidarity at a time when friends are scarce and when those Africans, our brothers in the faith, are feeling that the world has forgotten them. In fact, this decision comes at a time when the wealthy countries of this or the other camp had agreed to purchase the raw materials that are produced by the backward countries at the lowest of prices and to sell their manufactured goods to those countries at the highest prices. In this cruel world where mercy is almost non-existent, we find that the Islamic summit is restoring some hope to our African brothers. This summit also provided the occasion for King Hassan II to shake hands with Algerian president, Chadli Bendjedid at the door to al-Ka'bah. This handshake may have opened the door for hope.

Palestine and Jerusalem

"How were the question of Palestine and the question of Jerusalem dealt with? What conclusions did the summit resolutions come to regarding these two questions?"

The question of Palestine, along with the question of Jerusalem, may actually be considered the primary victor at this summit. This is because all the Islamic countries--not just the Arab countries--were again unanimous and more clearly so than at any time in the past about supporting the Palestinian question and regarding the PLO the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. They affirmed that there would be no solution and no peace in the Middle East unless this question was settled to the satisfaction of the Palestinians themselves, who have the legitimate right. And just as Mr Yasir 'Arafat said, the question, nevertheless, requires continued support and political action to persuade all the parties, including the Israeli party, that a just peace is the only solution for the future. This solution differs from the forcibly imposed security which the Zionist logic is unsuccessfully trying to adopt. I must mention that all the member countries that participated in the summit committed themselves to boycott any country that directly or indirectly recognizes Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. This is a tremendous gain for the Palestinian and Arab cause. On this occasion too I would like to affirm a

position I had declared previously. This may be summarized in [the notion] that the Palestinian question must not be the subject of exercises in haggling and outbidding; it must not be used by any party to conceal its problems, to make gains or to achieve special objectives. We must all serve the question of Palestine, not utilize it. I am saying this quite frankly because I know some of the military and political pressures that the Palestinian Revolution is being subjected to, and I know especially what our Palestinian brothers have to put up with in south Lebanon because of the effort that is underway to eliminate them physically and to abort their cause. Support for the question of Palestine is a clear and a permanent position to which President Habib Bourguiba and the Tunisian government are still committed; they have been advocating it for scores of years. Had the Arab leaders heeded the positions of Tunisia and its president during the sixties, we would not have been in this situation today and the question would not have come to what it did come to.

The last question was whether or not the Mecca Summit had endorsed Saudi Arabia's leadership in the region and on the international scene. In responding to that question I would say, if what is intended by leadership is safeguarding the two holy places of Islam, protecting Islam and the affairs of Muslims and defending their interests--and what a noble leadership this is--Saudi Arabia's leadership is not new. In fact, I believe that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was and still is historically, geographically and materially qualified to assume this leadership, which is a burden and a responsibility on Saudi Arabia's shoulders. This leadership is more of a charge than an honor.

The fact is that the enemies of Islam and of Muslims have contributed unwittingly to giving the kingdom this leadership [role] because they sensed the importance, the seriousness and the effectiveness of its role in warding off the dangers that lie in wait for Muslims, whether these be political, economic or cultural. King Khalid's address in the holy city of Mecca at the opening of the summit conference and the address of Saudi crown prince, Prince Fahd, at the outset of the summit meeting's business [sessions, in al-Ta'if bestow upon the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia a historical responsibility to implement the resolutions and the programs of this summit, especially since the kingdom houses the offices of the Islamic Conference Organization. I am hoping that after this conference the kingdom will give itself new life, new capabilities and new ways of pursuing Islamic action with the cooperation of the Islamic Conference Organization and with consultations with the member Islamic countries.

The Most Important Resolutions

The Third Islamic Summit Conference which was opened in Mecca and whose meetings were convened in al-Ta'if issued a communique entitled "The Mecca Communique" and a final statement that included all the political, economic and cultural resolutions that were adopted by the leaders of the Islamic world. The most notable political resolutions are as follows:

* A commitment to the liberation of Arab Jerusalem so it would become the capital of the Palestinian state, and an appeal to all the countries of the world to honor the UN resolutions regarding not dealing with the Zionist occupation authorities in a manner that would give them the excuse to interpret such dealings as constituting implicit recognition or acceptance of the status quo they imposed by declaring Jerusalem the unified capital of the Zionist state.

* All the economic capabilities and the natural resources of the Islamic countries are to be utilized for the purpose of weakening the Zionist economy and stopping the financial, economic and political support that Israel is receiving. An effort is to be made to change the international political positions in favor of the Palestinian people and in support of the PLO.

* The conference resolves to regard the question of Palestine, the heart of the Middle East problem, the primary cause of the Islamic nation. It affirms its commitment to the liberation of all occupied Palestinian and Arab lands. It commits itself not to accept any situation that would infringe upon Arab sovereignty on the holy city of Jerusalem; and not to permit any one of the Arab or Islamic parties to set up any unilateral solution to the question of Palestine and the questions of the occupied Arab lands. A just peace in the Arab region can only be established on the basis of the full and unconditional withdrawal of the Zionist entity from all the occupied Palestinian and Arab lands and the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to return [to their homeland] and to establish their independent state in Palestine under the leadership of the PLO.

The conference resolves to continue its resistance to the Camp David accords and its view of UN Resolution 242 as inconsistent with Palestinian and Arab rights. [It is still the opinion of the Islamic Conference] that UN Resolution 242 does not constitute a suitable basis for solving the Middle East crisis and the question of Palestine. The conference resolves that the Islamic countries are to commit themselves to utilize all their military, political and economic capabilities as well as their natural resources, including oil, as an effective means to support the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and the Arab nation and to oppose the countries that are providing military, economic and political support to the Zionist entity.

The conference appealed to the countries of the European community to carry out their pledges not to ratify their bilateral or collective agreements with Israel on the occupied Palestinian, Arab lands.

* The conference expressed its extreme concern over the continued armed Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, and it called again for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghan territory. The conference also expressed its grave concern over the conditions of Afghan refugees, and it urged that assistance be provided to them and that conditions conducive to their

return to their homes be realized. The conference called for an increase in efforts to keep Afghanistan an Islamic, independent and non-aligned state. The conference affirmed the commitment of the Islamic Conference to continue the efforts to solve this question, and it directed the ministerial committee—which is made up of the secretary general of the Islamic Conference Organization and the ministers of foreign affairs of Guinea, Iran, Pakistan and Tunisia—to cooperate with the secretary general of the UN Organization and his special representative in their efforts to find a just solution to the situation in Afghanistan.

- * The conference urged that Islamic solidarity be strengthened, and it appealed to the member countries to refrain from participating in military alliances and to reject the establishment of foreign military bases on their territory.

- * The kings, princes and leaders of the Islamic countries agreed to declare a holy war to save the holy city of Jerusalem, to realize the victory of the Palestinian people and to achieve the withdrawal from occupied Arab lands. The Islamic countries explained in that resolution that the Islamic notion of a holy war may not be misinterpreted or misunderstood, and that the practical steps for the implementation of this holy war will take place accordingly and in accordance with continuous consultations among the Islamic countries.

- * The conference resolved to appeal to Iran and Iraq to accept Islamic mediation and to make the task of the Commandable Efforts Committee easier. The conference resolved to expand membership in that committee to include the secretary general, Senegal, Gambia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Turkey, Guinea and the PLO. The conference called upon the two feuding countries to cease fire immediately, and it also announced that the [member] countries had agreed to the establishment of an Islamic force to put the cease fire into effect if the need to do so should arise. This force would be utilized in accordance with the recommendation of the Commandable Efforts Committee.

- * The conference approved the establishment of an Islamic court of justice, and it also approved the Saudi proposal to establish an Academy of Islamic Jurisprudence whose members would be scholars in jurisprudence, scientists and thinkers in the various areas of knowledge.

- * There were 38 Islamic countries participating in the conference; Iran and Libya stayed away; and Egypt and Afghanistan were kept away.

- * The fourth Islamic Summit Conference will be held in Morocco in 1984.

8592

CSO: 4802

ALGERIA

MATURITY, COHESION MARK NONALIGNED CONFERENCE, PAPER CLAIMS

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 15 Feb 81 pp 1, 5

[Article: "Ninth New Delhi Ministerial Session: Maturity and Cohesion"]

[Text] Algiers (APS). The results of the conference of ministers of foreign affairs of nonaligned countries, held in New Delhi, which ended last Friday evening, has drawn the attention of observers throughout the world.

In particular, the conference made it possible to reassert the principles and basic objectives of the nonaligned movement and to prove the maturity of the movement after some 20 years of existence, and to express the common will to maintain its cohesion, consistent with its progressive nature.

After five days of meetings, the representatives of the 95 members of the movement adopted an important declaration on the main international political and economic problems of our time.

"Despite frequently different approaches and appreciations, the openness of the debate, the sense of responsibility and the demand to respect the principles of the nonaligned movement predominated in the formulation of a general consensus concerning the general substance of the declaration," emphasized on this subject Mohamed Benyahia, central committee member and minister of foreign affairs, who chaired the Algerian delegation at the conference.

The adopted declaration widely proves the constant concern shown by the movement for working toward peace and international security and to promote and support the independence of the peoples and their will to protect themselves from foreign domination and to contribute to the development of a new international economic order. Among others, this is confirmed by the consideration of the national aspirations of the peoples of Palestine, Namibia and Sahraoui, the reiteration of the condemnation of the Camp David agreements, and the insistence that a peaceful settlement be achieved in the Iraq-Iran conflict on the basis of the principles of the movement (nonaggression, nonacquisition of territories by force, respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty of the states, etc). On the economic level as well, the declaration, which emphasizes the active role of the nonaligned countries, with a view to the establishment of a new international order, calls for appropriate global North-South negotiations and for strengthening cooperation among Southern countries.

According to the observers who followed the proceedings of the ninth conference of ministers of foreign affairs which ended after six days of work in New Delhi, last Friday, the nonaligned movement remains united.

The movement's unity is reflected to a far greater extent in the area of its economic concerns. Actually, the final resolution denounces the "abject state of poverty in which two-thirds of mankind lives" by the fault of the rich countries which are not part of the movement.

The economic resolution was easily approved. It calls for a resumption of the North-South dialogue and for increased cooperation among nonaligned countries, specifically between nonaligned petroleum exporters and importers.

Furthermore, the ministers of foreign affairs of nonaligned countries, meeting in New Delhi, called, last Friday, for the establishment of a "new international information order."

The delegates stated in the final declaration adopted at the New Delhi conference that they also would like that "an end be put to tendentious information promoted by the multinationals, press agencies" against developing countries and liberation movements.

"Disinformation and incomplete partial information provided by the media of the industrialized countries have affected the stability and development of developing countries in a number of ways," the document states.

Finally, they expressed their satisfaction with the progress achieved in 1976 by the pool of press agencies of nonaligned countries and called upon the members of the movement to set up a documentation center in Colombo (Sri Lanka).

Commenting on the results of the conference, Tanjug, the Yugoslav news agency, stated that unity within the nonaligned movement comes out "considerably strengthened" from the ministerial conference in New Delhi.

The news agency which, as early as Friday evening, had described the conference as a "total success," added the following: "Everyone put his cards on the table, in an open and perfectly democratic atmosphere. The fact that the movement is maturing was confirmed in its essence...."

"Even when there were basic differences on some critical situations," Tanjug went on to say, "no one dared go it alone and adopt the mistaken bloc policy."

Without discussing the details of the final declaration, the agency noted that "the creation of a mission for the settling of the Iraq-Iran conflict is one of the major results of the conference."

Baghdad Is Already Preparing for the Next Summit

The Iraqi government is stopping at nothing in welcoming the 1,600 delegates expected in Baghdad in 1982 for the seventh summit conference of nonaligned countries. It is planning the construction of facilities covering 80,000 square meters at an initial planned cost of 75 million Iraqi dinars (\$225 million).

This project, which was started in 1977, is being continued at a faster pace, unquestionably in order to catch up with the delay resulting from the slowdown caused by the outbreak of the conflict with Iran.

The compound, which will cover 17 hectares, will include a conference palace and a hotel. It is located in the very center of Baghdad, within the big turn of the Tigris, where the presidential palace as well is located.

The two construction sites, where huge cranes still stand, revealed that the concrete superstructures of the palace and the hotel had been virtually completed.

It is emphasized in Baghdad that the palace complex will represent a combination of Mesopotamian, Arab and contemporary architecture. It is still too early to assess the final results which, in any case, will be impressive: 45,000 square meters of built-up area.

The huge conference hall, which will seat the 1,600 delegates who will attend the plenary summit meetings, will be surrounded by 28 other conference rooms of different sizes, ranging from 12 to 400 seats.

The press will have an entire wing all to itself. It will include a 340-seat conference hall, and two radio and one television studios. Finally, a complete medical center will be made available for the duration of the conference.

On the other side of the street, the Al Rashid Hotel, a 13-story rectangular building of far more traditional design, will house the heads of delegations, each of whom will occupy one of the 100 four-room suites. Furthermore, the hotel will have a helicopter landing pad and a flight control center.

The only discrepancy in this picture is that the construction underway of the Baghdad International Airport had to be slowed down at the outbreak of the war. Currently the authorities are racing against time in completing the airport before the summit meeting opens, according to Baghdad specialists.

5157
CSO: 4400

EDITORIAL ON NONALIGNED CONFERENCE

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 15 Feb 81 p 1

[Editorial by B. Amazit: "Facing the International Crisis"]

[Text] The hour of truth took its time, 20 years, but has finally come. Unquestionably for the first time in the history of the movement, the nonaligned countries have decided to face the sum total of problems they face. There were no polite gestures: One after another, all problems were discussed. Decolonization, the situation in the Middle East, the Afghan question, the Persian Gulf conflict, the North-South dialogue, the major international problems and many other questions were closely examined in New Delhi. Indeed, 20 years after it was founded, the movement owed it to itself to take a breather in order to evaluate the distance it had covered and think more closely about its future while assessing its past. This was followed by a heated debate which rarely reflected the complexity of international problems and the urgency for the 95 participating countries to reach a consensus on a better approach and greater harmony which would insure a cohesion of their respective attitudes on current problems.

In a period of dangerous tensions in the world, the nonaligned countries owed it to themselves to strengthen their fronts and consolidate their positions if they were to look at things from a different angle and make a more adequate study of international relations. Over one-half of mankind must not let itself be manipulated without its participation and without the political and economic activities which characterize exchanges among peoples and countries.

Some countries are still suffering from the domination of foreign powers. Nations are struggling and fighting for their freedom in Africa, Asia and America. Others have been uprooted, deported or exiled, losing their country but assuming the shameful status which "charitable souls" have baptized as "refugee," i.e., the status of people without a homeland. This has been a lasting status which may last even longer unless effective, active and unanimous support is provided by those who, precisely, have experienced domination and exploitation and who are helped by solidarity. Originally neutral, the nonaligned movement has become a movement for the emancipation of the nation. This is a major point which must be emphasized, for it unquestionably reflects the cohesion among the members of the organization.

Such harmony became apparent the moment the question was raised of completing the decolonization of Africa. The New Delhi conference strongly condemned apartheid, which still exists in South Africa, whose racist policy, supported by the West, is

still making thousands of victims among the African populations and is presenting a threat to the entire southern part of Africa. South Africa's refusal to withdraw from Namibia and the sabotage of the Geneva conference, held under the aegis of the United Nations, were equally denounced by the countries represented in New Delhi. The nonaligned countries decided to increase their support of SWAPO, which was recognized by the organization as being the sole and the unique representative of the Namibian people.

As to the Middle East, for the first time following the Havana summit, the movement declared null and void the partial Camp David agreement which was greatly prejudicial to Egypt which, however, considers itself a nonaligned country. It was suggested that Cairo be excluded by the conference because of its declared alliance with Washington.

Western Sahara was equally considered at the ministerial conference which reasserted its stand on the matter in accordance with the recommendations of the OAU ad hoc committee and the principles of the United Nations. Moroccan expansionism, therefore, was clearly repudiated.

Questions regarding support for liberation movements were unanimously agreed upon by the movement even though interpretations may have differed. The same applied to economic problems, in particular the need to promote the North-South dialogue which the Western countries have tried to torpedo. A conference of the "77" is planned to this effect, to be held in Caracas, to formulate a specific program for action on economic cooperation among developing countries. In order to present a common front to the industrialized countries, viewpoints must be coordinated.

Therefore, there was agreement on the question of liberation movements and on economic problems. Differences appeared on other matters on which the member countries hold opposing views. Let us immediately point out that the first merit of the ministerial conference was to have raised them. Matters such as the Afghan question, Kampuchea and the Iran-Iraq conflict. Bearing in mind the nature of these problems and the profound differences in the political systems of member countries, it would be difficult to reach a clear unanimous position. Nevertheless, consensus prevailed. The aim of the conference was not to put an end to situations which, after all, affect sovereign states. Nevertheless, a consensus (with certain reservations on the part of some members) was reached in the reassertion of the general principles of the movement. Even though the ministers who met in the Indian capital did not submit specific points for the settlement of such problems, nevertheless, they raised them in political terms in order to block any sort of exacerbation or complication which would benefit the nonalignment enemies exclusively. What would the global assessment of the proceedings of this ninth ministerial session be? The nonaligned movement could not be considered a mediation commission which would have failed in its mission of reaching a general agreement among 95 countries and different systems. The very fact of having discussed such questions, however, proves that the obstacle has been surmounted. This is a substantial success and augurs a new phase in the future relations among the member countries, a greater responsibility and a better dialogue.

LIBERATION MOVEMENTS GIVE VIEWS ON GULF WAR

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 8 Mar 81 p 5

[Text]

During the war imposed on Iran by Iraq, Iran has consistently repeated that it will not submit to the aggression and will not accept an imposed "peace solution." The understandings and views of world liberation movements on this war help clarify and appraise the uncompromising position of Iran against its aggressors. The general positions and views of various movements have been gathered and are presented below.

Movement For Islamic Unity of Tunisia: While officially, the Tunisian government has taken a neutral position concerning the war, the pro-government papers continue to attack the Islamic Revolution. But the conscious strata and Muslim people of Tunisia, who remain under heavy oppression and exploitation, have understood the true nature of the war and hence, in various ways, express their support for the Islamic Revolution. For example, the Movement for Islamic Unity of Tunisia, in a statement entitled, "The War Against Persians or the War Against Islam and in the Service of Imperialism" has declared its support for the Islamic Republic of Iran. Furthermore, the statement refers to the Islamic Revolution's struggles against the U.S., and some of the U.S. conspiracies against Iran, and finally calls attention to the Baathist regime's improved relations with the U.S.

Nasserite Movement: Ibrahim Ghalibay, the leader of the Nasserite movement in Syria has called on Iraq to end its war

against Iran and place its forces at the service of furthering the main Arab cause, i.e. at the service of liberating Palestine.

The Nasserite Society of Venezuela has also, in a statement commemorating the death of Nasser, called on the Arab and other Muslim people of the world to jihad (rise) against the enemies of the Iranian Islamic Revolution. The statement declares that 90 percent of Arab people support Iran, and calls those who do not support the Islamic Revolution traitors, who have abandoned the ideals of Muslim nations especially that of Palestinian Liberation.

The Islamic Liberation Front of Bahrain: One of the most active groups around the Iraqi war of aggression has been the Islamic Liberation Front of Bahrain. This front in a statement, issued twenty-five days after the start of the war, rejected the claims of the Iraqi Foreign Minister who had accused Iran of wanting to seize Bahrain as part of its own territory. The front reminded everyone that the only power that can decide the fate of Bahrain is Bahrain's own Muslim people. And that Hamud has no right to speak about Bahrain's internal affairs. The Liberation Front of Bahrain also, in the very first days of the war, sent a telegram to the Prime Minister and expressed its desire to fight the Godless Ba'athists in the front lines. It says in that message, "the Muslim people of Bahrain have shown their firm support for the Iranian Islamic Revolution and the leadership of

Imam Khomeini in various magnificent demonstrations."

In another statement, this front calls the Iraqi war of aggression part of a combined conspiracy of the Ba'athists, Zionists and American imperialism. It furthermore adds that, "We know that these conspiracies against the Islamic Revolution have been planned in the White House in a prior agreement with the Kremlin, and now in coordination with the Arab countries' foreign ministers in Tel."

On the 22nd of Mehr, a number of Bahraini fighters on their way to the war front, threatened that if reactionary Arab leaders continue their support of Iraq, they'll set fire to the oil wells.

The Polisario Front: Bashir Mustafa, Vice Secretary-General of the Polisario Front met in Algeria with Hashem Rahbanjani. After the meeting Mustafa said that all Muslim and Arab states should defend justice and thus should support the side that defends itself, not that which is on the attack. He did not name Iraq as the aggressor, but his overall position was in Iran's favor.

The Organization of Islam in Saudi Arabia: This organization has also taken a very active position concerning the war. It has continuously supported Iran and condemned the Iraqi aggression. In a statement it says, "Your excellency Imam, we and the people of the area pray for the victory of the courageous Iranian forces, and await your religious order concerning our duties."

In another declaration they expose the U.S. aims in causing

the war, and reject any compromise which may save the Iraqi regime. Yet in another statement they expose the U.S. puppet regime of Saudi Arabia and call on Iraq. There, it calls on the Saudi workers to stop working for ARAMCO. (The chiefly U.S. owned oil company).

This organization has also in a message to Imam declared its readiness to join the Iranian fighters at the war fronts.

The AMAL Movement: This movement in a statement issued recently while supporting the Islamic Revolution of Iran, condemned the Iraqi aggression and declared its willingness to join in the war.

In another statement it condemned those Arab regimes who through their support of the Iraqi regime are serving American aims in the region. Also, the student organization of the AMAL Movement in Belgium has declared its support for the Islamic Revolution and condemned the Ba'athists unjust attack on Iran.

Sudan Nation's Party: The Sudan National Party under the leadership of Sadegh Metchi has declared in Algeria, concerning the Iraq-Iran war, "Both sides should find a peaceful solution for their differences and return their forces to the pre-war zones". The Sudan National Party being against the Iranian government, is in the distance front and opposes the Camp David agreement and the establishment of American bases in Egypt.

The World Organization of Abbas-el-Musallim: This

organization has taken one of the clearest positions concerning the war. Its position flows from the context of religious leadership and teachings. For example in a call which was published on the 14th of Mehr in various papers, it considered the Ba'athist regime of Iraq "Kafir" and "mothed" (Godless and anti-Islamic) and hence called on all Muslim people of the world to jihad (rise) against this "kafir" clique. They, in another statement to the people and armed forces of Iraq asked them to drop their arms and join the Islamic Revolution.

Yet in another statement, the Abbas-el-Musallim, declared their unconditional support for the Islamic Revolution of Iran. On recently they announced their decision to hold a congress in Germany in support of Iran, and to open an office for registering volunteers who wish to participate in the war against Saddam or who want to donate blood for the Iranian forces.

The Movement of Islamic Revolution of Pakistan: This organization came into being about four months ago and is a firm supporter of the Islamic Revolution. Its position concerning the war has been made clear in its statement (No. 11), of Mehr 1, 1359. "We consider the war against Iran to be a war against Islam. Thus we are, from the religious point of view, obliged to enter into a blood pact with our Iranian brothers, who now hold the banner of Islam, so together we can defeat the 'kafir' enemy."

MILITANTS DENOUNCE PROPAGANDA, ACTIVITIES OF 'LIBERALS'

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 1 Mar 81 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text 2]

THE PERSIAN DAILY OMMAT, the organ of the Militant Muslim Movement said in its editorial recently that: only a long-term massive war against the invading Iraqi forces could ensure Iran's triumph over the invading forces and that the Iranians should impose a truce agreement on the enemy forces only after they have expelled them from the Iranian territories.

It said that any other strategy which sought to impose a ceasefire agreement on the Islamic Republic of Iran would predictably end in benefiting world imperialism and working to the detriment of the Islamic Revolution. The following are excerpts from the editorial:

"... We said in earlier analyses that the present war could end in encouraging ideas of compromise and anti-revolutionary trends bringing about the isolation of truly revolutionary forces and the Followers of the Path of the Imam. It would be worthwhile for us to investigate the reasons why statesmen in authority did not respond to the military threat by Iraq long before the undeclared war broke out, and why, despite their own claims that they had anticipated the threat at least two months before, they did not take precautionary measures for mobilizing the Iranian Armed Forces...

"The propaganda of the 'liberals' in the Armed Forces and behind the scenes and their emphasis on the issue of 'specialization' have been precisely against the Imam's policy. By launching such propaganda the liberals meant to eliminate the Armed Forces from the people so that it might not undergo a moral change in the interests of the nation. It needs a separate article to dwell on the propaganda fodder which the opposing wing has provided for its rivals by its own wrong-doings and errors...

The imperialists claimed in their propaganda that a 'silent majority' exists in Iran who are dissatisfied with the situation in this country... The only slogan which in their judgement was capable of pulling to the scene these so-called 'silent' masses was one which could ensure the peoples' welfare freedom and progress". Bakhtiar, too,

seemingly adhered to this same slogan and somewhat enacted it (for example by lifting the the ban on the activities of political parties, the lifting of censorship on the press and the dissolution of SAVAK-the former secret police of the ex-shah)... The leaders of the group of 'liberals' did not lose time in uttering slogans in the midst of their contradictory statements. Each time they spoke a different language to people with different ideas. When they had the control of the state in their hands they voiced their opposition against the workers' councils, but later on, for the purpose of winning the approval of the masses, they defended the philosophy behind the councils.

When they held the administrative control of the state they voiced their opposition against the hostage-taking and undertook every open as well as clandestine effort for the release of the hostages, but today they refer to the release of the hostages as a 'compromise'. One day they voiced their support for the workers' share in the factories and for the farmers' ownership of lands, but today they are supporting large ownership, freedom for the private sector for engaging in business enterprise and the principles of capitalism.

"Should the reactionary governments of the region feel assured that the Iranian mullahs in authority do not intend to export their Revolution, and that they have decided to act more cautiously from now on, such reactionary governments would be willing to intermediate between the belligerents (Iran and Iraq) and it is precisely with this idea in mind that the Islamic Conference was held in Taef recently. In this, Saudi Arabia wanted to play the key role to establish its status in the region as the 'godfather' of the countries of the region. Ayatollah's travels to a number of countries (to say nothing of why at all he has ironically remained in prison despite so many changes in the government in Pakistan) as well as other travels to Europe and to the United States by other groups of compromisers, and the selection of certain Moslem nations as intermediaries between Iran and Iraq are all signs of a peace initiative planned by the 'godfather' of the countries of the region and other sides and 'yes' governments for ending this war in a compromise..."

MINISTER DEPLORES ABSENCE OF INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 25 Feb 81 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text]

THE FINANCIAL DAILY BOURSE in its leading article Monday commented on the recent statement of the Minister of Industries and Mines, Mohammad Reza Nematollah, who said 'one of the main current problems is the absence of industrial activity'. He continued, 'at present about 2,000 billion rials worth of goods is being imported annually and if we are to produce these goods domestically we need to invest about 6,000 billion rials'.

Bourse commented: "There is no doubt that there are many problems behind the stagnation of industrial activities. Referring to this point the Minister said that problems such as the absence of proper plans and programs, lack of cohesion and relations between the existing industries, deficiencies in technology, shortages of skilled labor and lack of proper management all have contributed to bring industrial activities to a standstill.

"One of the interesting points mentioned by the Minister of Industries and Mines is that in Iran those industries which are 65 per cent independent are considered desirable. In other words, those industries in which 65 per cent of the raw materials for their production is produced domestically are beneficial for the country. It should be kept in mind that most of the industries at the outset are not able to reach such degree of independence and gradually more of their needed materials will be produced inside the country and, if proper plans are drawn up for them, they could reach the independence level much faster.

"Regarding Nematollah's statement, that in order to be able to produce our needs domestically there is need for 6,000 billion rials worth of investment, we must point out that we do not need to produce all our industrial needs inside the country. The fact is that such a thing may not be economical at all. For instance at this period of economic development in Iran, investing money on advanced electronic industries, making tractors, printing machines and other products, which require a high degree of specialization, is not economical or advisable, not only because such

products, if produced in Iran, would not have the necessary quality, but also because the costs of its production would be much higher than if they were imported.

"Under the present world economic system, it is only through mass production that the prices of products can be kept at a reasonable level. When goods are produced on a large scale and at low costs, they can be exported and thus the producing country can make a profit in exporting these goods. At present Iranian industries are not operating at the necessary level and this is why the Ministry of Industries and Mines should decide that which industries must be given priority and supported and from which industries it should withdraw its support. That is to say, there are certain industries which are not useful and profitable and in fact an end should be put to the existence of such industries."

CSO: 4920

DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IMPROVE ECONOMY, SOCIETY

Arak Industry

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 22 Feb 81 p 3

[Text] The managing director of Arak Industrial Co. announced that the current year's production has increased two fold, compared to last year. He added that the plant, inspite of shortages in spare parts, primary materials and other problems, continue to increase production and at present provides 30% of the country's needs for thread and moquette.

He added that half of the spare parts are presently produced by the workers. The plant also provides 250 residential units for its workers.

Lorestan Projects

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 19 Feb 81 p 3

[Text] Khorramabad, Feb. 16 (Pars)--Seventy four development plans such as construction of school buildings, electricity supply, water-pipe lying work, cleaning of fountains, repairs and construction of village roads, construction and repairs of mortuaries, construction and renovation work of housing unit for mustaz'afin, digging of irrigation canals, construction of rest houses for Revolutionary Guards, cleaning of fountains, and subterranean canals; construction of flood control devices in Malavi and Alevar Garmseri divisions are being carried out by the Imam's Development Office in Lorestan province, reported the supervisor of Imam's office.

So far, 57 projects have been completed and the rest of the projects are completed by 40% to 90%.

The supervisor of the Imam's office further said that rials. 46,410,000 has been spent on this projects from oil income of one day and rials 4,780,000 has been donated by the villagers for carrying out these projects. [as published]

The villagers also provided manual labour for eleven projects.

Kermanshahan Electricity Projects

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 19 Feb 81 p 3

[Text] According to reports given to Pars News Agency by the Governor's Office of Kermanshahan Province, 143 villages have been supplied with electricity in the first six months of the current Iranian year (beginning 21 of March, 1980), and primary steps have been taken for supplying electricity to another 160 villages which will be completed in the second half of the year and the coming year.

CSO: 4920

INFLATION TAKING HIGH TOLL ON INDUSTRY, AGRICULTURE

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 26 Feb 81 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text]

THE WEEKLY OMMAT, organ of the Militant Moslem Movement, in its latest issue commented on inflation and high prices and said that these two economic problems have created difficulties in the society. "For some time the government has been trying to curb inflation and prevent it from becoming worse, however, due to the weakness of its plans and programs and failure to implement them properly, these programs have not fulfilled their objectives. Consequently, the prices of goods have continued to rise and this has put a great burden on the working class in society. In other words, the inflation and high prices have hit the farmers and workers the hardest. In addition to this in some areas, rationed commodities have not yet been distributed among the villagers and this has created disappointment among them.

"In the areas of agriculture and industry the country is facing serious problems. As for agriculture, this sector must be considered the basis of the economy of the country. There are still problems and a struggle is going on between the deprived farmers on the one hand and the land-owners on the other hand. The big landowners have mobilized their efforts to prevent complete implementation of the land distribution laws and this has created problems for the farmers. As a result of these problems, agricultural production is at a low level. It is not fair that for the sake of small minority, namely the big landlords, a large majority, the farmers, have to face difficulties and deprivation. At present there are about one million peasants who each have less than two hectares of land and if they are given enough land, agricultural output would increase immensely and this would be a great step towards self-sufficiency in agricultural production. Just distribution of land among the farmers would also help them to overcome the deprivation from which they have been suffering for many years. If these land problems are not solved in the benefit of the farmers the situation will become worse and the economic crisis would be intensified. In order to reach self-sufficiency in agriculture, this land problem must be solved as soon as possible. The point is that the country's economy necessarily depends on agriculture, otherwise we will be forced to increase the production of oil in order to run the economy.

"Reviving the assembly industries would not only fail to solve our problems but would rather increase the dependency of the country's economy on foreign countries. The management of the nationalized industries is another problem. It is being said that the cost of running these industries during the current year has been as high as 15 billion rials last year. Along with this the issuance of bonuses for the workers while the production has not itself increased only intensifies the rate of inflation. And in addition to these problems those created by the middlemen have made the situation even more grave. The number of these middlemen, which has actually increased after the war imposed on Iran by Iraq, itself has made prices go higher.

"The poultry industry in Iran is dependent and chicks and poultry feed are still being imported and the efforts of the government to lower the prices have met with failure due to sabotage by the capitalists to prevent implementation of such measures. The fact is that as long as the status of foreign trade is not clarified and no drastic change has taken place in the distribution of goods and elimination of the middlemen one cannot hope for the solution of these aims and thus the only remedy that will remain will be increasing the export of oil."

In the opinion of Ommat, rationing of consumer goods, which is now only limited to only few items, should be expanded so that there would no longer be a dual pricing system. In addition to this, remote areas and villages should be covered by the rationing system. The article concluded by saying that there is a need for decisive and sound measures to combat inflation and high prices for more dignified and statements will not solve the problem.

IRAN

INFLATION DEFINED AS 'APPROACHING LIMITS OF EXPLOSION'

Tehran HADOM in Persian 20 Jan 81 pp 1, 7

[Article: "The Big Capitalists Have Brought Prices to the Bursting Point"]

[Text] Prices have reached the bursting point. Inflation is oppressive. The prices of ordinary food commodities have increased by more than 230 percent since last year. In just the few months that have elapsed since the start of the imposed war, the price of commodities required by the toiling people have increased up to 50 percent.

Grade One Sadri rice, which was priced at 12 tomans a kilogram last year, has now gone to 23.5 tomans a kilogram, that is, is 96 percent more expensive than last year. The same rice last summer was selling for 16 tomans. By this calculation, it has become 47 percent more expensive in the course of 6 months. "Soup greens" have become 23 percent more expensive than a year ago and 25 percent more expensive than last summer. Tabriz cheese is 66 percent more expensive than it was a year ago and 20 percent more expensive than 6 months ago. Granulated salt is 50 percent more expensive than a year ago and 20 percent more expensive than 2 months ago!

A brief stroll through the retail market will show how the big capitalists have taken advantage of the war situation, raising the price of ordinary provisions, whose importation and distribution is entirely under their control except for the goods which have been rationed. For example, the price of fresh mutton, which was 20 tomans a kilogram a year ago, has reached 40 tomans this year, that is, has become 100 percent more expensive than last year, while the same mutton, which is priced at 40 tomans, was being sold 6 months ago for 30 tomans a kilogram -- that is, it has become 33 percent more expensive than 6 months ago.

Mohammad Jaberl, a railway employee engaged in making a purchase in a shop on Nasrabad Avenue (previously Anirieh), states, on this subject:

"Prices have increased in a terrifying manner. Imagine, for about 2 months I have not tasted fresh meat. They have added 12 tomans since summer to frozen meat, too, whose price was 13 tomans. On one hand, the employee's salary is fixed, and on the other the prices of general necessities are going up every day. I myself must both pay instalments on the house and fill the stomachs of five people on 3,500 tomans."

Nor has chicken emerged unscathed from the price increase. In this regard, Mahin Shahryari, who is on government pension, states:

"The price of a kilogram of chicken, which was 14 tomans last year, is now 29 tomans, while the same 29-toman chicken was priced at 21 tomans before the war. How can it be that 8 tomans are added to a commodity over a period of 3 months?"

That is, an increase of 120 percent in price in the course of a year, and 38 percent in the course of 3 months! Who gets this money, other than the big capitalists?

Rice Has Gone up 7 Tomans a Kilogram!

On Gomrok Street, we enter a shop called Khorshidi, and sit down to talk with a woman whose husband is a janitor in a garage. On this subject, she says:

"The inflation has become devastating. My husband, with an income of 2,500 tomans, must both pay expenses for four people and cope with these devastating prices. Imagine, frozen meat since last summer has increased 12 tomans in price! Chicken, too, has gone from 21 to 28 and sometimes in some places to 30 tomans a kilogram. One can't get close to fruit at all. A small package of dried milk is a toman more expensive than last year. A cube of butter used to cost 2 tomans but has now gone to 28 rials. As the well known saying has it, let us ban meat, chicken and fruit, but one still cannot go without breakfast, butter and cheese, the everyday foods. A sir of cheese cannot suffice for five people. One has to buy this butter and cheese every day. If the inflation continues in this manner, we will even have to go without eating a morsel for breakfast."

Proceeding beyond meat, chicken and dairy products, we come to rice, the basic food of the toiling people. This commodity has also become expensive in wartime.

Mrs Bahadori, a housewife, states, on this subject, in a shop on Hafez Avenue:

"Iranian rice, which is now sold at 24 tomans a kilogram, has become 7 tomans more expensive than before the war. Since this commodity is to be considered one of the most widely consumed of public commodities, why should it be 7 tomans a kilogram more expensive in the course of a few months?"

A tour of the retail market shows that mixed class one Faraj tea, which was priced at 80 tomans a kilogram in September of this year, is now selling for 120 tomans per kilogram - that is, an increase of 50 percent in price during the war. Comparing the price of this tea, which is one of the cheapest types of tea, with its price last year, shows that it has risen 140 percent in price, because this type of tea was selling for 50 tomans a kilogram last year.

Price Increase by the Day!

The longer the war imposed on our nation by American imperialism becomes, the greater the rate of price increase accelerates. While the big imperialists are raising prices with regard to general commodities week by week, prices in the case of other essential commodities are sometimes going up every day.

Seyyed Reza Moradi, a merchant of household goods on 15 Khordad Street, says,

"As soon as the weather turned cold, following the attacks by Saddam's hireling regime on Iran's refineries, the production of gasoil and kerosine declined and oil lamp sales picked up. In late October a shipment of Japanese kerosene lamps costing 180 tomans reached us. A week later, when we went to the market to get the next shipment, its price had gone up to 230 tomans. The third week, the price of the same kerosene lamp went up to 270 tomans, and toward the latter part of November the lamps disappeared. The importer said 'We don't have any. They're finished.' However, it became known that people had hoarded the lamps and were selling them one by one at 500 tomans to purchasers. From then on the price of these lamps increased every day to the point where at present it has gone to 730 tomans - but these are the same lamps that were coming into Iran in early October; in that period, 550 tomans have been added to their price. It goes without saying that it is the importer who is putting this enormous amount of money in his pocket."

Why Are Prices Rising? What Is To Be Done?

The toiling people, on whose shoulders the load of this astronomical inflation is being directly laid, combine the answers to these two questions.

Ahmad Behrad, a seller of dairy products on Kargar Avenue, says:

"Until there is surveillance over the goods on the part of the government, the capitalists will continue sucking the blood of the people in this manner."

Reza Jalai-Qomi, a construction worker, who bought a sir of cheese for 2 tomans, says:

"It is these capitalists who are sucking our blood. The government must import the commodities and sell them to us."

Mohammad Ali, a worker who sells fruit and vegetables in Naziabad, says:

"As long as the capitalists and middlemen have a hand in the business, inflation and price rises will continue. The remedy to the situation is for the government to get into the business. With regard to the commodities which have been rationed, we have seen that their prices have stayed stable. This shows that only the government can prevent inflation."

Gathering together the views of the people, of which we have presented a sample, shows that the toiling people of our country have truly realized that inflation arises exclusively from the big capitalists' dominance of the market and it is only by carrying out the principle in the constitution on the nationalization of foreign trade and government intervention in the importation, distribution and sale of commodities that it will be possible to restrain inflation and thus neutralize one of the most dangerous roles of American imperialism and the big capitalists in causing discontent among the people.

	Price in 1979-80 (rials)	Price in 1980-81 (rials)	Price in January 1981 (rials)	Percent Increase Over Last Year	Percent Increase Since Start Of War
Class one mixed Faraj tea, kilogram	500	800	1,200	140	50
Class one Sadri rice, kilogram	120	160	235	96	47
Fresh mutton, kilogram	200	300	400	100	33
Chicken, kilogram	140	210	290	120	38
Tabriz cheese, kilogram	180	250	300	66	20
Granulated salt	8	10	12	50	20
Cube of butter, 100	22	25	28	17	12
Pasteurized milk, large	28	33	35	25	6
Class 3 parsley, kilogram	15	40	55	263	37
Soup vegetables, kilogram	15	40	50	233	25

Note: The prices which have been set down and included in the table bear on sections in the south of the city and the center (Gomrok, Simetri, the former Amirieh and Kargar Avenues), in the north of the city; the prices of these goods are several times greater.

11887

CSO: 4906

CARPET EXPORTS STUDIED AS SOURCE OF REVENUE

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 25 Feb 81 p 2

[Text]

TEHRAN, Feb. 24 — While the foreign exchange revenue of our country has been reduced, due to lower level production of oil and setting aside the "one product" economic policy, the export of carpets can play a crucial role as a logical means of providing foreign exchange and employment for our labor force.

During the past two years, the export of carpets has benefited from a noticeable increase and during the first five months of the current year, the export of carpets registered an 88 percent increase. However, these increases, in light of the need for foreign exchange and in comparison to our competitors in this field, like India, Pakistan, China and the Soviet Union, who have taken over the Iranian market abroad, is not enough and better marketing and advertising policies must be utilized in order to renew the old prestige and value of Iranian carpets in world markets.

In order to clarify the matter, we must analyze and discuss the strong and weak points in the market for Iranian carpets and find out where the problem lies.

In the two years that have passed since the glorious Islamic Revolution, has the government taken any action to protect this industry?

Has the Iranian Carpets Company taken any action to support producers of hand-woven carpets?

Has the Iranian carpets exporters syndicate, implemented its own policy, encouraged the export of Iranian carpets?

In reply to the first question and the policy of economic dependence pursued by the Islamic Republic and the priorities that are given to national industries and the statement of Prime Minister Raja'i, reaffirming the government's total support for those industries that rely completely on domestic resources, it is clearly seen that the government has not neglected this important issue and has taken the first steps.

In reply to the second question, it must be said that the Iranian Carpets Company has taken certain measures in support of producers, e.g. providing loans and primary materials. Recently, they have taken the art of carpet weaving to schools and have offered the art in the form of training classes for students. But, in some plans, like cooperation with the Construction Jihad, the Iranian Carpets Company has not enjoyed much success. The reason for this lack of cooperation must be found. One reason is that, a shahanshahi institution which has faced little or no changes since the revolution, we cannot expect revolutionary characteristics. This problem must quickly be solved in order to make the activities of the Iranian Carpets Company more valuable.

Up to 1971, most of the world carpet markets belonged to Iran and approximately 50 percent of production and export of carpets was in the hands of Iran. During the 60's, a number of developing countries, taking notice of the cheap labor and the immense profits of this industry, began to think about the production of hand-woven carpets. This was the start of competition in the carpet markets.

Among the buyer countries of Iranian carpets, West Germany accounted for 50 percent of Iranian exports and was the biggest importer of Iranian carpets. During 1971, the share of Iranian carpets imported by West Germany reached 75 percent, while Pakistan enjoyed a 3.7 percent market share, Morocco 4 percent and India 2.2 percent. In 1973, the Iranian market share was reduced to 51 percent while Pakistan increased to 11 percent, Morocco 10 percent and India 4.5 percent.

A comparison of these figures shows that the value of carpets imports by West Germany, during 1971 to 1976, increased by three times, while the Iranian share of the market, rather than increasing, took a drastic reduction. However, market shares for our competitors, enjoyed a healthy increase.

During the first eleven months of 1979, 7,608 tons of carpets worth \$320 million were exported. This is while, the export of carpets for the same period of time in 1978 was only 4,461 tons worth \$62.5 million. The share of hand-woven carpets in the exports of 1978, reached the unusual figure of 45 percent.

During the first five months of the current year, 2,665 tons of carpets worth 15.4 billion rials were exported. It is clearly seen that during the past three years, the export of carpets has benefited from a noticeable increase. The reason for this increase, during these sensitive times must be determined. Unfortunately, this increase has not gone through a correct and calculated channel, but rather it reflects the effect of taghoots after the revolution and the carpets they took with them.

Many of the people who had plundered the wealth of our nation during the former regime, now use export of carpets as a means of continuing their luxurious lives. In many instances, they have sold the carpets below the market price and have not returned a cent of it to the country.

An analysis of the situation of Iranian carpets in world markets, is itself another issue and is need of further analysis.

The Reasons for the Decrease in Export of Iranian Carpets

Now that we have clarified somewhat the point that the condition of the market for Iranian carpets has not been satisfactory and our exports suffer from numerous weaknesses, we must state the reasons for this trend. 17 cases are stated for the decrease in the export of Iranian carpets.

1) Increase in the price of carpets:

One of the important reasons for the dwindling share of Iranian carpets in world markets, is the daily price increases in Iranian carpets compared with other competitors. Data show that the price of a square meter of Iranian carpets, during the past seven years, has increased 2.5 times. If this trend continues, the future of Iranian carpets in world markets will be very uncertain.

2) New Competitors

The characteristic of the carpet industry, attracting unemployed persons and returning healthy profits, have been the main reasons for new competitors entering the industry. Today, old producers like Turkey, Afghanistan, the Soviet Union and China, have increased their production and new producers like India, Pakistan, Morocco and Bulgaria have also entered the market.

3) Economic Blockade

Due to the economic blockade, the market for export of Iranian carpets to the U.S. has remained stagnant and this trend has had an effect on other western markets who support the U.S.

4) Misuse of the name of Iranian carpets in other countries

In many cases it has been noticed that sellers misuse the prestige of Iranian carpets and sell carpets from India, Egypt and

Afghanistan to their customers as Iranian carpets.

6) Lack of attention to the quality of carpets exported

Unfortunately, the quality of carpets exported is not considered by merchants and often, carpets of very low quality are exported. This greatly weakens the status of the Iranian market abroad.

6) Economic recession in Western countries

At present, due to an economic recession in the U.S. and Europe, the demand for Iranian carpets of high value, has greatly diminished.

7) Lack of attention to the needs of foreign customers

Because many exporters do not consider the taste of foreign buyers, often Iranian carpets are not purchased and sit idle in merchants' stores.

8) Lack of a coordinated marketing and advertising program

With the complicated techniques of marketing and advertising used in the world, we can no longer sit around waiting for customers. We must also utilize these marketing techniques to attract a bigger share of the world market.

9) Lack of a coordinated program among merchants

Carpet merchants, without a coordinated export program and using traditional means of exporting, have inflicted losses on the merchants.

10) Copy of traditional Iranian designs

For a long time, countries like

Pakistan and India have copied traditional Iranian designs and have sold the carpets as Iranian.

11) Eastern carpets instead of Iranian ones

Another ploy which has diminished our exports is the replacement of Persian carpets by oriental carpets.

12) Competition from machine-woven carpets and floor coverings

13) Customs assessments

Recently, due to the strict assessments by customs officials, many exporters have lost their interest in the export of carpets.

14) Restrictions in foreign exchange credits

The government, in order to stop the unnecessary flow of foreign exchange from the country, has set up certain restrictions for exporters and this has had an effect on exports.

15) Restrictions facing Bank Markazi

Many exporters believe that the requirement for bringing foreign exchange back into the country within eight months after the export of the carpets, does not given them enough time to sell the carpets.

16) Heavy tariffs placed on the import of Iranian carpets by other countries.

17) Temporary and permanent restrictions of importing Iranian carpets by other countries.

PROGRESS ON NEKA ELECTRICITY PROJECT REPORTED

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 1 Mar 81 p 3

[Text]

Neka-Tehran 400KV Transmission Line started operation on February 25, 1981, which contributes in a great deal to demand of power of Tehran Citizen. At present only one line is available, and another line will be put into service around the end of April, 1981. Both lines have capacity of transmission of power of 1,000 MW which is capable of covering a half of Tehran citizen's home consumption of power. People in Tehran area will have no more trouble of black out if transmission facility and Neka power generators are maintained well and enough fuel is supplied to the generation plant. This huge transmission project was constructed by a Japanese Consortium of Sumitomo Corporation, Sumitomo Electric Industries, Ltd. and Mitsubishi Electric Corporation who worked very hard continuously through the difficult days during Islamic Revolution and Iran/Iraq war. They never stopped construction works even in the coldest winter season in the mountainous area. Their zeal for performance of their duty is surprising. They faced many difficulties through 4 years construction period such as shortage of construction materials, labor problems after the revolution, delayed payment, confusion after departure of American consultant engineers, security of foreign engineers etc. Mahab Consulting Engineers, an affiliate of Ministry of Energy, have also worked very hard in overcoming difficulty of taking over engineering job from the American consultant under the good leadership of Tavanir engineers. The project including construction of Neka substation, the biggest substation in the Middle East, costs about 20 Billion Rials, a half of which is financed by Japanese Government with 8 years loan. About 5,000 Iranian engineers, technicians, workers and about 700 foreign engineers and technicians took part in the construction.

COUNCIL REPORTS SUCCESS OF GOODWILL MISSIONS

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 9 Mar 81 p 2

[Text]

TEHRAN, March 8 (Pars) — The heads of the 18 goodwill missions who had been appointed by the Council for Dissemination of Islamic Information to travel to 40 countries gathered for the first time at the Council's office. In this meeting, that lasted about four hours, different issues such as the combination of the missions, and the condition of the Iranian Embassies abroad were discussed. Present at the meeting were Behzad Nabavi, State Minister in charge of Executive Affairs; Mohammad Hashemi, the Political Advisor of the Prime Minister; two representatives from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Kharrazi, Managing Director of Pars News Agency, and a representative from the Ministry of Islamic Guidance.

Dr. Kharrazi told Pars correspondent that the objective of this gathering was the reporting on and assessment of the activities of the goodwill missions and their achievements. The difficulties encountered by these missions will be studied in order to avoid them

in the future. As for the results of the dispatched missions he said that, "in general, they have been satisfactory. Although there have been some weaknesses, hopefully in the future they will not be repeated."

At the end of the gathering, Hojatoleslam Haqqani, the Secretary for Coordination of the Council for Dissemination of Islamic Information, was interviewed by Pars. He stated his viewpoints on the mission of the 18 groups of 40 countries. He added, "basically, these trips have been very fruitful, because the missions have clarified the meaning of the Islamic Revolution for the various peoples. The decisive position of Iran regarding the imposed war of Iraq and the crimes of Saddam have been cleared up for the world. On the whole, these trips have had very influential outcomes. The regime of Saddam had been active in propaganda and the mass-media of imperialism and communism had only condemned the Islamic Revolution of Iran. Our real position was not clear for the nations, because we had sent no missions

to other countries, and our own public relations efforts had been very weak. Although the nations were generally supportive of our Revolution, they did not have enough information about it." Haqqani quoted Imam Khomeini who had said that, "I wish these missions had been dispatched since the beginning of the Islamic Revolution."

Haqqani was asked if he had met Prince Fahd, the royal heir-apparent of Saudi Arabia. He replied that in Saudi Arabia, the mission had presented its program and were accepted by the Saudi officials. This program consisted of making a speech at the Masjid ul Haram, before the Friday Prayers, other speeches in the Universities of Mecca, Madinah, and Jeddah, a meeting with the Secretary General of the Islamic Conference, and a meeting with the Deputy of the Foreign Affairs Ministry. Then Haqqani denied any other meetings with Saudi authorities, including Prince Fahd. He said his group did not go to Riyadh, at all and that foreign reports to that effect had been false.

BRIEFS

TEN 'PEYKARS' SENTENCED-Amol--Ten persons, both men and women, belonging to the 'Peykar' organization were given prison terms ranging from 1 and 1/2 to 2 years by the Islamic Revolutionary Court here. The ten were held and later tried for creating disturbances during a protest meeting on February 11 this year, when a grenade thrown by one of the protestors fatally injured one Mohammad Thamasali. No permission was granted for holding the protest march which was deemed illegal, the Public Relations Office of the Islamic Court announcing the sentences said. It also said that the February 11 agitations were quelled by people of the area acting of their own. 'Peykar' has been notoriously identified as carrying out U.S. plots designed to effect conspiracies against the present regime. [Text] [Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 3 Mar 81 p 1]

CLERIC REVIEWS ACHIEVEMENTS OF RECONSTRUCTION CRUSADE--Tehran (Pars)--Hojjatoleslam Nategh Noori Saturday submitted to the Majlis a report on the achievements of Reconstruction Crusade. The list of achievements is as follows: 1) Erecting electrical facilities for 1,555 villagers. 2) Construction of 1,923 baths; 1,544 schools; 370 mosques; 78 clinics; 2,019 earth dams; 2,795 wells for water; 7,317 libraries; 4,208 bridges; laying of 13,209 Km of roads, building drinking water facilities for 1,871 villages; restoring and reconstruction of 7,550 canals; medical treatment for over one million people; construction of 2,028 Km of irrigational canals; building 214 corpse-wash places; distribution of 73,763 tons of pesticides among farmers; repair of 2,860 agricultural machines, 1,336 tractors were handed over to farmers and more than 12,962 domestic animals were vaccinated and tea treated. [Text] [Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 24 Feb 81 p 2]

CSO: 4920

SYRIAN REGIME SAID TO BE PURSUING SAME COURSE AS AL-SADAT'S

Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 12 Feb 81 pp 1, 17

[Article: "AL-DUSTUR'S Opinion: They Differ in Means; They Agree on the Goal"]

[Text] The tour that Egyptian president Anwar al-Sadat is making now in western European countries cannot be separated from all the suspect actions that the Arab region is presently witnessing. These actions seek to contain the Palestinian question and to do away with the gains that it achieved in the area of international understanding and support for its justice and its basic positions.

After the failure with which the Camp David accords were afflicted and after their treatment of any one of the questions related to a settlement of the Palestinian question proved to be barren, the new European action that followed the Venice communique gave shape to a formula for a specifically defined European initiative that was free of the shackles of oppression. That formula went beyond the legacies of the Egyptian-Israeli agreements in recognizing the right of the Palestinian people to determine their destiny and to establish their independent state on the soil of their homeland.

At that time al-Sadat went to Europe in an attempt to promote the Camp David accords as though they were goods for which there was little demand among the Europeans. He tried to impede the European initiative, to prevent it from seeing the light of day and to oppose the movement for European recognition of the PLO as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Al-Sadat revealed the nature of his mission in the statements he made in front of the European parliament when he asked Europe to support the Camp David accords and autonomy and to reject the PLO's role in determining the future and the will of the Palestinian people.

Al-Sadat was not satisfied with the failure he brought on himself; nor was he satisfied with the tragedies and disasters he caused for the Palestinian question and the people of Palestine when he gave Israel the

green light to settle the Palestinian land, to annex Jerusalem and to "Judaize" it. He encouraged the Zionist military establishment to practice its racism and its riotousness in south Lebanon and the Palestinian camps, and he even set himself up as a Zionist spokesman opposing every international action that went in the right and positive direction to achieve a just and an honorable peace in the region.

It is not strange for the Egyptian regime to pursue such a conspiratorial role against the Palestinian question and to continue pursuing it, as long as there are other Arab agencies that are working in the same direction in which al-Sadat is working, [even though] they may use another method and other means.

The Syrian government whose transformation into a terrorist Mafia has caused it to lose the legality of a constitutional regime is standing today with all its practices and its excesses as a thorn in the side of Arab solidarity and as an obstacle in front of any Arab action that would deter al-Sadat and his masters from toying with the destiny and capabilities of the Arab nation and the Palestinian people.

It is the indolent Arab posture, which is incapable of deterring the Syrian and Egyptian regimes from playing these suspect roles, that is responsible for the fragmentation and division which the Arab nation has reached. It is these states of fragmentation and division that make the Arab nation an easy prey for Zionism and for all those who have designs on its wealth, its land and the freedom of its peoples.

The Arab citizen is wondering today about the usefulness of the resolutions and the conferences if these are actually incapable of representing the Arab consensus and adhering to it in closing those gaps which the regimes that bound themselves with international alliances are trying to create. [What would be the good of these resolutions and conferences if they cannot] put an end to the adolescent conduct of these regimes and their manipulation of the capabilities and the destiny of the Arab nations?

It is inevitable that there be a tempestuous Arab awakening that can curb the willfulness of the foolhardy in Damascus and the conspirators in Cairo before matters get out of control and the Arab scene turns into a major Lebanon sapped by terrorism, torn by crosscurrents and killed by treachery and gang warfare.

8592

CSO: 4807

MOTIVE FOR AL-SADAT'S TRIP TO EUROPE DISCUSSED

Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 12 Feb 81 p 12

[Article by Jabir: "The International Horizon: Europe and al-Sadat"]

[Text] What is it that impelled Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat to travel to Luxembourg to address the European parliament about the foundations of peace in the Middle East and Europe's role in achieving the peace that President al-Sadat wants? What is it that made al-Sadat more interested now in the European role when he had insisted on continuing the Camp David course and the "unique" American role which excludes Europe and the Soviet Union and all the other parties whose participation would be inevitable if the peace [in the Middle East] is to be a real, a just and a lasting peace?

It is not easy to answer these questions, but there are noticeable indications that may shed some light on the reasons that led al-Sadat [to show] this sudden interest in Europe's Middle Eastern role.

The first one of these indicators is the fact that the new U.S. administration did not give al-Sadat the attention he had been hoping for. Statements made by U.S. officials about the Camp David accords have continued to be ambiguous, unspecific and non-binding. The trilateral summit conference that was to have been held in Washington between al-Sadat, Menahem Begin and the U.S. president has been turned into separate meetings between Reagan and Begin and Reagan and al-Sadat. It is most likely that these meetings will be no more than a diplomatic formality and that they will not produce any decisive results. This is because the new administration in Washington knows that Begin's government will not be in power after next June. It also knows that al-Sadat's role in the Middle East has exhausted its purpose and that it no longer has the importance it used to have under Carter's administration. Carter had held on to al-Sadat's role because he wanted to remind the American voters of what he called "his principal accomplishment" in foreign policy.

Furthermore, the local autonomy talks between Egypt and Israel have been suspended for months, and Washington does not seem to be eager to resume them. As far as al-Sadat is concerned, all these developments signify

that his course has reached a dead end and that he will have to move in another direction. However, al-Sadat will have to do so with extreme caution so as not to anger Washington and provoke Tel Aviv. Al-Sadat is seeking a European role that would not involve fundamental changes in the U.S. peace plan. However, this position he has assumed may not finally win him the sympathy of Europe or bring him any closer to Washington.

8592

CSO: 4802

JORDAN

SYRIAN REGIME COMPARED TO ARMED TERRORIST GANG

Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 11 Feb 81 pp 1, 17

[Article: "AL-DUSTUR's Opinion: When a Regime Turns into a Nightmare"]

[Text] When regimes lose their self-confidence and the confidence of their people and when the truth about their illegal authority is revealed, they usually turn into savage beasts whose fangs and claws mangle the body of their homeland. They spread their malice around, and they create havoc and corruption in the land.

The Syrian regime, which represents a unique example of this phenomenon in the 20th century, stole the slogans of the Ba'th party; governed under its banner; and took advantage of an 'Alawi sect group and ruled in its name. After doing all this, the regime divested the slogans of al-Ba'th of their content and subjected the [members of the] sect to a confrontation with their brothers in the Syrian state. Its nature as a terrorist police system was revealed, and this caused it to lose the lawfulness of its authority and the responsibility of leadership.

When the ruling group gained control, it turned by virtue of its nature into an armed gang, forcing its terrorist presence on the Syrians and trying to make them yield [by subjecting them to] bloody massacres and by turning the state into a large, terrifying prison cell.

In its struggle for survival this regime did not hesitate to discharge the venom of its malice and to expand the circle of its conspiracy to include its fraternal neighbor. It set out to burn, destroy and tear up Lebanon so as to turn it into a jungle of highway robbers. It conspired furtively against Jordan and Iraq, thinking that by doing so it would be able to draw attention away from its illegal existence and from the terrorism, the torture and the malicious actions it was committing inside Syria. Accordingly, [it was hoping] to enlarge the nation's wound and to make its struggles more deep-rooted so as to serve the Zionist enemy's objectives and plans against the land and the people of the Arab nation.

The Syrian people who are burned day and night by the dark fires of malice and by the terror of the gangs that are mustered by the ruling regime

in Damascus are as far away as they can be from this regime and its practices, and they are the ones who are most cognizant of its true nature.

Although this regime has tried to rob the people of Syria of their will and their freedom, the people's resistance to the regime of Hafez al-Assad and his group will not cease. They will fight this regime, boycott it or isolate it from the popular base which is the foundation for the survival and success of regimes.

The people of Syria are the people of Hittin, al-Yarmuk and Maysalun; they are the people who rejected injustice and who rose up against every conqueror and stranger; they are the people who brought down the slogans of falsehood and those who pretend to be patriots. These are the people who are rebelling today against those who robbed them of their freedom and against those who control their capabilities and their dignity.

If the regime of Damascus is hiding behind slogans of declaring [its] hostility to imperialism and Zionism, these slogans no longer hide anything from anybody, now that the practices of this regime are serving Zionism and imperialism.

Our nation expected this regime to save its efforts and its capabilities for use in the basic national struggle against Zionism. But this regime preferred to turn its capabilities against its own nation and its capabilities. This is what Israel today is blessing, fostering and encouraging.

Today, as it faces a unique phenomenon in its contemporary history, the Arab nation is being called upon to unite in solidarity to stop this dangerous tide; to deter the illegal authority that is controlling Damascus; and to ward off the poisonous winds that are blowing from the north so that the tragedy of September 1976 may not be repeated and so that this phenomenon may not be enforced as a method of doing business among the states and the nations all along the Arab homeland.

8592

CSO: 4802

VICE PRESIDENT OF CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES INTERVIEWED

Amman AL-RA'Y in Arabic 1 Feb 81 p 8

[Interview with Vice President of the Chamber of Deputies, Munir Abu Fadil by Manar Naras: "Beirut Dispatch: Vice President of the Chamber of Deputies, Munir Abu Fadil Tells AL-RA'Y, 'The World Will Record the United Nations' Apathy in Lebanon in Black Letters; Partition and Colonization Plans Are Part of the Conspiracy; Democracy in Lebanon is Indebted to the Chamber of Deputies' "]

[Text] Not only has Munir Abu Fadil been a deputy since independence and not only is he one of the active Lebanese political figures, but he is also the vice president of the Chamber of Deputies and a minister who has held numerous cabinet positions.

We interviewed him about the role of the Chamber of Deputies, the chamber's relations with the executive authority and its positions on the hot issues that Lebanon is experiencing.

[Question] What role did the Chamber of Deputies play during and after the events to confront these events and to restore cohesiveness to the Lebanese people?

[Answer] The Chamber of Deputies has and still is doing more than what is required of it, both in the area of supervision and in that of legislation.

It may be that one of the chamber's most prominent and most important roles during the period of the past events was to protect the lawful government and democracy in this country. For when all the institutions of the state were subjected to dissolution and paralysis and when their operations were interrupted, the Chamber of Deputies continued to perform its national role faithfully and most fully. Bombs and threats did not scare it, and all the kinds of terror that were practiced against it for the purpose of suspending its role and taking advantage of it did not dissuade it from its duty.

We do not exaggerate if we were to say that democracy in this country

is indebted to the Chamber of Deputies and that the lawful government lived and survived thanks to this chamber also. It would be beneficial to say that during the crisis the Chamber of Deputies carried out actions and missions that were beyond the sphere of its constitutionally determined duties. It took actions and made efforts in every area and in different directions for the purpose of bringing points of view closer together and contributing to the establishment of solutions that would get Lebanon out of its tragedy. The chamber thereby demonstrated the will of the Lebanese people and their interest in coexistence and cooperation as well as their rejection of all kinds of partition, fragmentation or curtailment of their country's sovereignty.

Today the chamber continues to play its national and leadership role both in the area of legislation and in the area of restoring cohesiveness among the citizens of this country. Today, we are undoubtedly noticing that the country is beginning to reap the fruits of what the Chamber of Deputies had sowed during the crisis: the seeds of cooperation, understanding, solidarity and opposition to the conspiracy that had targeted the unity, the sovereignty and the independence of the Lebanese [people]. We can say that each member of the Chamber of Deputies did make an immeasurable contribution at the expense of his life and his safety towards the creation of the climates and reasons that helped [us] take steps beyond the crisis and overcome its dangers.

[Question] In your opinion, to what extent do the legislative and executive authorities in Lebanon cooperate?

[Answer] There is no doubt that cooperation between the legislative and the executive authorities is at its best. If such cooperation were non-existent, not a single step could be taken towards the process of rebuilding what has been destroyed and achieving the hopes and objectives of citizens. Inasmuch as this cooperation is solid and strong, the administration [itself] becomes strong and capable of fulfilling its duties towards the homeland and the citizens.

As long as we live under a democratic system, the executive authority cannot take action unless the understanding and the cooperation between it and the legislative authority are as strong and as clear as they can be.

[Question] Several plans for an accord have been proposed after the painful events in Lebanon. What specifically is the role that the Chamber of Deputies played in these plans?

[Answer] The Chamber of Deputies as a whole or as individuals and blocs played a prominent role in devising all the plans for accord that have so far been proposed. [It also played a prominent role] in outlining the features of tomorrow's Lebanon and the foundations and the principles upon which it must be based.

Not a single political or party agency has presented a formula for an

accord unless the deputies who are affiliated with or who sympathize with this or the other front took part in devising and formulating it. Furthermore, the chamber as a whole did come up with several initiatives of this kind through its parliamentary blocs. The most notable of these was the well-known 13th document which was approved by all the blocs that are represented in the chamber. These blocs represent, at the same time, most of the trends and inclinations outside the chamber.

[Question] Would it be possible for you to give us any hint about the legislation that the Chamber of Deputies may enact to give shape to and implement the principles of accord in Lebanon?

[Answer] The implementation of principles and laws goes back to the executive authority, but the chamber's role in this area is confined to that of enacting laws, offering suggestions and giving guidance in any one of the areas. I want you to be certain that if the Chamber of Deputies had the constitutional authority to carry out actions, the accord plan would have been executed years ago.

The chamber played a major role in the course of creating the suitable climate for achieving accord through the numerous plans it approved. To mention one example of these plans and not to list them all, there is the new Civil Defense Law. There are numerous other plans which the chamber has approved or which it is about to approve. Most of them deal with the social aspect (of life) and are geared towards treating the daily questions of the Lebanese, raising their standard of living, ensuring social justice and removing oppression from deprived and oppressed groups so that equality among all the people's groups can be achieved. In my opinion this is one of the most important foundations upon which Lebanon of the future should be built--the Lebanon we want as a homeland for all the Lebanese, where they can be equal in rights and duties.

[Question] The democratic system in Lebanon has become a deep-rooted system, but the alternative formulas that are being proposed here and there have raised questions in everybody's minds. How suitable in your opinion is the democratic system to the situation in Lebanon?

[Answer] Lebanon chose the democratic system, and by doing so it made a good choice. This is the only system which is suitable to the situation in Lebanon and to its circumstances, its makeup and the multiplicity of sects and denominations in it.

It may be that this system is what gave Lebanon the feature that distinguishes it from all the countries in the region. Numerous Arab leaders have even become convinced that if Lebanon did not exist, it would have been necessary to create it.

The purpose of the alternative formulas that are being proposed today is to develop, perfect and improve this system so as to keep it in step with the law of rapid development that the world will witness. With the

exception of divine laws, every system and every statute is subject to change, amendment and alteration in the light of what is required by the supreme interest.

There is no doubt that some of the laws in our democratic system require reconsideration and amendment so as to make them more suitable to the circumstances that we are facing and so that the causes of the problems and the commotions that our country is subject to from time to time can be remedied. The purpose behind amending statutes and systems is in most cases to develop and improve conditions. In my opinion this is what the Lebanese factions are trying to do on the strength of the formulas and plans they are proposing to amend our system and our constitution.

[Question] Several plans have been proposed for partitioning and dividing Lebanon. What role is the Chamber of Deputies playing to prevent these plans from being carried out?

[Answer] All the partition and division plans that were proposed were part of the anti-Lebanon conspiracy which had targeted its unity, its independence and its sovereignty. But all these plans have been strongly rejected by all the Lebanese groups that opposed them vehemently, affirming their insistence on the unity of this country and on not yielding one grain of its soil.

It may be that the Chamber of Deputies was at the forefront of the forces and agencies that first rejected the partition or the settlement of Palestinians in Lebanon. The opinions and positions of all the chamber's blocs on this matter were the same. They were all oriented towards resisting every attempt that sought to partition or to take away any part of this homeland, regardless of the sacrifices and the cost.

Through its constitutional and legislative authorities this Chamber of Deputies will prevent the realization of any step that would favor partition or the settlement of Palestinians in Lebanon, either in the southern region or in the institutions of Lebanon, among the people of Lebanon or in its ideal coexistence formula. I am affirming that this chamber does not and will not approve any law that would contain [even] one letter that would mean partition or division.

[Question] What is the role of the United Nations vis a vis the Lebanese crisis?

[Answer] It is with much regret that we say that this international organization played no active role in the area of treating the Lebanese crisis, despite the resolutions that it issued in that regard. These resolutions were never implemented, and they continued to be mere words. This is because this organization did not use its moral and political power as it should have done to put an end to the tragedy that has consumed this country and to stop the brutal Israeli aggressions against this peaceful country.

Even the emergency forces that were sent by the United Nations to south Lebanon played a role that went no further than that of an observer. They count the number of shells with which Israel showers the villages of the south, and they count the number of people who die as a result of the devastation, the destruction and the homelessness that ensues.

The United Nations organization has proven its inability to deal with the Lebanese problem, and it has, therefore, lost the world's confidence in it and lost the world's confidence in its ability to solve problems, to champion those who have been wronged and to deter oppressors. This organization's apathy in saving our country from its predicament and, accordingly, its inability to force Israel to honor and carry out its resolutions will be recorded by history in infamy.

[Question] What is your future view of Lebanon tomorrow in the light of the achievement of national accord?

[Answer] Rest assured that Lebanon will be stronger than it used to be and that it will resume its leadership role in all the intellectual, humanitarian, cultural and educational areas. The tragedy that has been sweeping it for 6 years will not have an effect on its determination; nor will it affect its will to live honorably under its full sovereignty, its independence and its freedom. All the Lebanese have agreed that there is to be no partition, no division and no separation of any inch of Lebanon's territory. The Lebanese people rather want and are working for a Lebanon whose people and institutions are united, a Lebanon that is sovereign, free and independent within its internationally recognized borders.

[Question] What are the most important plans that the Chamber of Deputies will begin to consider during its current emergency session?

[Answer] The chamber approved a series of these plans during the first meeting it held during this session. The most notable of these plans was that which pertains to increasing the salaries of public sector employees. The chamber is always prepared to consider and to discuss all the plans that are submitted to it by the government or the suggestions that are made by our fellow deputies. But the 1981 draft budget remains at the forefront of these plans and one of the most important to be approved by the chamber soon.

8902

CSO: 4802

MOROCCO

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY THRONE SPEECH BY KING HASSAN II

Rabat L'OPINION in French 4 Mar 81 pp 1,3

[Speech by King Hassan II at the Royal Palace of Rabat on the 20th anniversary of his accession to the throne on 3 March 1961]

[Text] Yesterday, the Moroccan people celebrated the 20th anniversary of the accession to the throne of his majesty, King Hassan II, which coincided this year with the 25th anniversary of Morocco's accession to independence.

There was an official reception to mark the occasion yesterday at the Royal Palace of Rabat during which the king received the good wishes of the government, high-ranking FAR (Royal Armed Forces) officers, the bureau of the Chamber of Representatives, diplomats accredited to Rabat and other prominent people.

The king gave the throne speech which has been translated below:

"Praise God,

"Dear people,

"On this memorable day, a source of happiness and a reason for pride, we celebrate two events. Both are prestigious. Both commemorate glorious moments in our history and illuminate our path with their shining light.

"In celebrating these two events, we express our gratitude to God for his many benefits, for the graces which he lavishly bestows on us and all goods he has given us.

"'God's grace is such that he bestows it upon whomever he wishes. God holds the supreme favor.' (Koran)

"By the will of God, Morocco obtained independence 25 years ago after a long and difficult struggle led by our revered father, His Majesty Mohammed V--may God bestow his mercy upon him--and supported by the people who demonstrated most beautifully their fidelity, loyalty and love....

"The end of the colonial era and foreign occupation opened new horizons for our country: Morocco could once again fully exercise its sovereignty and the citizens could take complete responsibility for managing state affairs.

"A mere 5 years after the proclamation of independence, we, by the will of God, succeeded our lamented father on the throne of our glorious ancestors. Dear people, at this happy and blessed moment God placed your destiny in our hands and gave us the mission to guide, protect you and work for your happiness and tranquility. Our hearts beat together. Everyone, in his soul, felt our symbiosis. All felt the same confidence and expressed the same determination. Thus, united and interdependent, we began to work creatively and resolved to accomplish the most uplifting tasks together in all fields.

"Dear people,

"Every country, delivered by God from foreign occupation and blessed with the benefits of independence, on recovering its sovereignty, is confronted with hard choices about its direction and its system of government. Of course, we were also confronted with choices among various paths and directions. However, we did not have to hesitate for long about this situation. Indeed, well before the occupation, our country had distinguished itself during its long history when the great qualities of our nation, its authentic traditions, its ethnic character, its prestigious customs and its legendary pride were affirmed. Because of such characteristics, Morocco preserved its personality and identity, remained ever faithful to its spirit and distinguished itself by the originality of its culture and civilization. We view the colonial era as an accident which befalls nations when, in difficult and unexpected circumstances, they are weakened and their resistance is diminished.

"The citizens quickly recovered. They rediscovered their sense of purpose and showed their zeal in doing the necessary tasks. They did so well that in a short time the country mobilized its potential, breaking the chains and overcoming obstacles and traps. Morocco regained its liberty. The victorious king and people, on the threshold of a new era, acted in perfect solidarity. The era, which looked promising, required the joint action of the king and people to set the country on the right path and satisfy its needs and aspirations. The goals of our revered father, His Majesty Mohammed V, were perfectly clear and well defined. The king's objectives and goals were those of the people. To achieve these results, Mohammed V gave priority to preserving the Moroccan personality, threatened in its very being, and to restoring national authenticity, thus following the path of his glorious ancestors.

"Colonialism worked unceasingly to cut us off from our own history, to annihilate our country's history, traditions, our authenticity, identity and everything that distinguishes us from other peoples and nations. Colonialism was not at all content to deprive us of our liberty and attack our sovereignty,

it also aimed to extinguish the flame of our faith and shake our certainties.

"Only the courageous action of our revered grandfather, Moulay Youssef, prevented colonialism from putting an end to our values and faith. Moreover, many colonial theorists and historians tried to convince us how stupid our attachment to our glorious past was and how unnecessary was the respect that successive generations gave to their national patrimony. The colonists went even farther in their antinational attitude. Their scorn for our sacred values and their denigration of our personality and authenticity made them try to attack our national unity, cemented by Islam, by sowing division among our citizens. Their plan failed lamentably in the face of the courageous refusal of the Moroccan people.

"Our revered father, His Majesty Mohammed V (may God reward him fully...) endeavored, at independence, to begin to erase the aftereffects of the occupation and restore the country's identity. When he died, he had almost completed this task. In addition to being ever attentive to this aspect of national life, His Majesty Mohammed V was also vitally interested in modernizing the country and making progress in social, cultural and economic areas; he laid the necessary foundations for any nation concerned about its independence and security. His work covered all areas of national activity which he reformed and modernized. When Mohammed V left this world after a life of unceasing labor and efforts, Morocco had, in 5 years, passed through one of the most eventful stages in its history, characterized by intense governmental and legislative activity, by the establishment, among other projects, of schools and teacher training facilities and a new judicial system.

"During the same period, the charter on individual liberties was elaborated and the penal procedure code promulgated, and special importance was given to economic and social problems and the realization of territorial unity.

"We were called, dear people, to take charge of your destiny. Since then, we have been committed to programs in all areas to promote your prosperity and assure it in the future. What were our objectives to fulfill our commitments and satisfy your hope?

"In the first place, we had to follow the well-defined program of our revered father--mercy upon him--a program we helped set up at his side, when we were the crown prince and, in that capacity, his right arm and confidant. In the second place, we had to preserve the personality and authenticity of our country this individuality which it kept throughout its history.

"Moreover, we worked to consolidate state structures, organize various sectors, draft laws and modernize as necessary national activity, but our goal was not limited to this enterprise or to preserving what should be preserved and improving what should be improved and reorganized.

"We meant to fill the gaps and achieve prosperity and abundance for individuals and communities and make the country worthy of esteem and admiration.

"We safeguarded and conserved our patrimony and encouraged the restoration and beautification of our monuments by calling upon our talented artisans who did a remarkable restoration job. We tried to encourage and promote our culture and safeguard our authenticity.

"We built mosques and set up Islamic educational institutes.

"We did everything in our power to spread the holy book and encourage the study and reading of the Koran. We did likewise for the Soumma (tradition) of the prophet--may God's prayer and salvation be upon him--we also set up a special establishment for students who wanted to deepen their understanding of the interpretation of the Koran, the Soumma and the Charia.

"To enable our youth to acquire and profit from the best knowledge and education, we ordered the construction throughout the kingdom of schools and universities for training in law, literature, the experimental sciences, medicine and pharmacy as well as institutes and schools to train cadre for agriculture, trade, public works, mines, security and national defense.

"We took measures to enable our students who so wished to attend schools of higher learning abroad. Because of these measures to promote knowledge, the encouragement given and the opportunities offered, science and technical studies, literature and the arts have made great strides.

"Intellectual activities and the decorative arts have been encouraged. Our authentic culture has come to be known and appreciated in various countries. In turn, our country received, through exchanges and cooperation, representatives of the most varied cultures, which strengthened friendly, fraternal relations.

"These and other efforts to welcome guests from all over and to encourage intellectuals from brother and friendly countries to participate in the many talks and lectures in our country and the ever-increasing number of festivals and gatherings have made our country a privileged place of welcome for scholars, men of letters and artists.

"Our country was not content to regain the authenticity it almost lost and its special spirit, in conjunction with its preservation effort, it made progress and continued its civilizing mission and renewed fruitful relations and close ties with the East and West.

"To make our economic and social development correspond to our intellectual renaissance, we instituted National Promotion to mobilize people as much as possible in economic and social areas where a high technical level was not required.

"Similarly, agriculture and handicrafts, equipment and employment problems had our special attention. Our goal is to achieve self-sufficiency, develop production and encourage exports.

"To this end, we drew up a vast program of irrigation by building dams and canalization; it encourages agrarian reform by assuring those involved of fertile soil. We are also concerned about developing our mineral wealth, encouraging all kinds of industries, building ports all over the coast, extending the highway system, digging wells, producing electric energy, expanding and modernizing communications, building and modernizing airports.

"We are deeply concerned about the condition of our workers and have promulgated very advanced regulations on this matter.

"We devoted special attention to social inequities. Here, we urgently recommended that our ministers intensify their efforts to reduce these disparities. Likewise, we instructed the National Investment Company to create real-estate portfolios to benefit low-income workers in its affiliates.

"Dear people,

"Since our accession to the throne of our glorious ancestors, our work has extended to these various areas, but the goal remains the same--to enable the country to go forward according to its ambitions and hopes. Our deep conviction led us to establish a constitutional monarchy, to guarantee individual freedoms and enable you, dear people, because of your sterling qualities, through your participation in managing affairs, to make progress and build again.

"Soon after taking charge of your destiny, we submitted for your approval by referendum, a draft constitution defining the constitutional monarchy. You welcomed this draft with great joy and almost all approved it. We subsequently amended certain clauses in the constitution to consolidate democracy. These various changes have led to the constitution in its present form.

"Thus, the organizations set up by the constitution carry out their role. Thus, too, the elected assemblies cooperate with the government and the administration in a spirit of dialogue, according to our lofty directives, and try to carry out their responsibilities and tasks. Since we are trying to come as close as possible to perfection, we contemplate the future confidently when the serious exercise of democracy, such as we wish it for our country, becomes a general commitment, a doctrine fixed in peoples' minds and a model worthy of imitation.

"Dear people,

"All our achievements and attainments could not have come to fulfillment if we had not consolidated them by unceasing action to recover our Sahara.

"The mission God gave us obliges us to safeguard the patrimony bequeathed by our glorious ancestors by liberating the areas stolen from our territory. As you know, we preferred dialogue to preserve our friendly relations while making our legitimate claim prevail. When our oft-repeated willingness to talk led to an impasse, we decided, with our adversary, to submit the dispute

to the highest international jurisdiction.

"The International Court of Justice pronounced judgment which acknowledged our cause and the existence of legal ties and allegiance between us and our Sahara.

"We then encouraged you to march peacefully to recover your usurped right, liberate stolen Moroccan territory and reestablish territorial unity temporarily impinged upon by unfavorable circumstances.

"You responded, dear people, to the appeal enthusiastically and wholeheartedly. Your well-attended, peaceful demonstration, guided by faith and protected by the Koran, aroused admiration and its originality was not lost to observers.

"By your demonstration, you rediscovered, in the Sahara, your roots, your own family who warmly welcomed you, with extraordinary joy born of liberation, happiness and confidence in the future. Unfortunately, greed soon appeared and the masks came off. Armed bands from Algeria attacked and invaded our territory. We stood up to this provocation and repelled the assailants. Aggression increased and intensified and the conspiracy appeared stubbornly in broad daylight. We repelled all perfidious attacks and hateful aggression by defending our territory; our sons' heroism discouraged all aggression and destroyed enemy plans.

"Our perfect organization and minute preparation enabled us to reattach our Sahara, consolidate our forces and preserve our territory.

"During this war, which continued more than 5 years, we constantly urged Algeria to end the aggression. We extended and extend our hand in understanding. We hope that a summit meeting can be held to end the bloodshed, tension in the region and restore peace there.

"Friendly, brother countries also worked for this purpose. We are very grateful to them for their admirable efforts. Unfortunately, neither our willingness nor the initiatives of brothers and friends for an agreement to end the confrontation have been successful.

"Dear people,

"The recovery of our Sahara is virtually accomplished. The Sahara is ours. We are not willing to give it up. Although we favor any agreement to end the conflict, we cannot accept an agreement at the expense of an integral part of our national territory.

"Dear people,

"We have mentioned the outstanding events since independence, on this day when everything gives us pride, joy and optimism. Certainly, we have achieved much, but our lofty ambition calls us to work unceasingly to achieve more and

always do it better.

"We have made general development our slogan. From year to year, we have gone through many stages, pursuing fixed objectives; however, the world economic situation has inevitable repercussions on our country which bears the burden of the war to defend territorial integrity. For these reasons, it has not been possible to wage the battle for development with the desired speed. We are still attentive to the priority sectors of our development, vital sectors for the present and future.

"The five-year plan, which should be implemented this year, has been drawn up. We ordered that it go into effect as soon as possible. We hope that the decisions we made or will make to confirm the conclusions of the national days of education and agricultural economy, and the conclusions themselves will form two charters for our future action in education and agricultural economy.

"Dear people,

"It is a grace from God that our country currently holds a privileged place. God himself grants this in recompense for efforts made, experience acquired and knowledge gained from its commitment in international relations on the basis of noble ideals and principles.

"Morocco is united politically, scientifically, culturally and artistically with the rest of the world by reliable bonds of amicable, fraternal cooperation; this is seen in the many visits, the trips by officials to various capitals for talks, meetings and conferences for mutual understanding of individuals, leaders, politicians or delegation members.

"The last summit conference in which we participated was held in the brother kingdom of Saudi Arabia and studied the issue of Palestine and Al Qods [Jerusalem].

"This conference was opened in the sanctuary of the Kaaba with devotion and fervor. The proceedings continued at Taef. Dear people, you could follow the progress of the Islamic Conference because of the media and you certainly came to the conclusion that a change had occurred, that a new era, marked by seriousness, serenity, courage and responsibility, began. In the sanctuary of the Kaaba and also in the nearby city of Taef, the Moslems united and reaffirmed their solidarity.

"The Moslems also approved important decisions and stated their determination to defend the law; henceforth, they will be a new force with which the world must reckon.

"We were pleased and gratified that the third Islamic Summit Conference approved the document drawn up by the Al Qods Committee which we chaired, an honor which our brothers in the Islamic world bestowed on us.

"When we were reappointed chairman of this committee, we were deeply gratified

by the sincere friendship of our brother kings and presidents.

"We express our sincere thanks and those of our people.

"This conference could be considered the most important Islamic summit meeting because many leaders attended, important decisions were reached, the proceedings were remarkably organized and the delegations were very warmly welcomed by the Saudi people and leaders.

"We summed up our country's history whose first pages were written by our revered father, His Majesty Mohammed V, and which we continued, following the path mapped out by the illustrious author.

"Dear people,

"The purpose of our summary, which only provides a partial idea of reality, is to recall, on this happy occasion, our courageous and exemplary behavior, inspired by the late king, a hero of freedom, independence, the Arabic cause and Islam.

"On this day dominated by the memory of the father of the nation, we implore God to hold His Majesty Mohammed V in his holy mercy and reward him for his work with a place in paradise beside those who have benefited from divine grace--the prophets, saints and martyrs, these marvelous companions.

"Dear people,

"Our Royal Armed Forces, gendarmerie, security forces and auxiliary forces are deployed in our Saharan provinces.

"Our forces stand up to aggressor and defend the country, ready to make the supreme sacrifice.

"The king of Morocco, the supreme head of the armed forces, in his name and the name of all citizens, expresses our gratitude, pride and admiration to them.

"On this glorious day, it is also appropriate to pay homage to the exemplary courage of these forces and their exceptional heroism.

"We pray to God for the permanent victory of our armed forces fighting against the arbitrary and resisting aggression. We pray to God also for the repose of the souls of our valiant martyrs.

"Dear people,

"By the grace of God, our nation is united; it continues along the right path, without weakness or weariness, with faith in its noble goals and pride in the cultural values which make of it for all time, a nation with its own personality and values, a nation to which God has given virtues, strength and vigor to all its sons, to enable them to overcome difficulties and

obstacles.

"We can only achieve prosperity and progress by being faithful to our ethnic tradition, obedient to the precepts of the holy book and the tradition of its messenger and devoted to our holy unity of hearts and minds, which strengthens our steps and assures us of success,

"God, reinforce the symbiosis and the profound bonds which unite me to my people, inspire us to praise you in word and deed for guiding us along the right path.

"Lord, may I give thanks for the benefits you lavishly bestowed on me and my relatives. May I do pious works to please you and in your mercy welcome me among your holy servants.

9479

C50: 4400

OPPOSITION LEADER GIVES VIEWS ON DOMESTIC, ARAB MATTERS

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 8-14 Dec 80 pp 8-15

[Interview with al-Sharif Husayn al-Hindi by Pierre 'Aql in Paris; date not given]

Text In the midst of new Arab and international developments and the rise in the level of tension in the Arab East, it was necessary to have a journalistic session with al-Sharif Husayn al-Hindi, not because he is the Sudanese opposition leader whose concerns are restricted to challenging Ja'far Numeiry's regime and revealing its secrets and hidden affairs, but also because he is an Arab chief whose Sudanese concerns do not divert him from his Arab ones. He is watching over the vexations of the Arabs everywhere and presents his views with the mentality of a learned man, a searcher, a close scrutinizer, conferring advice, opinions, and counsel in an unwavering belief in the inevitability of triumph. When he met for a number of hours with Pierre 'Aql in Paris to conduct the discussion, al-Sharif al-Hindi was surveying events and analyzing them, proceeding from firm, well known national positions. Here is the text of the discussion and interview:

Question You have called upon the Sudanese people to engage in different peaceful forms of struggle, political strikes and civil disobedience, against the regime; has there been then, a shift from the different forms of armed and violent struggle which you practiced in the past to the form of non-violent struggle? Are you serious in this appeal, or is it just a tactical slogan?

Answer Thanks, brother. In the political struggle in the Sudan, there was once no form of armed struggle. There was democracy with a free vote governed by a majority. Then al-Numeiry introduced armed struggle into Sudanese politics through his coup d'etat. We ourselves considered that it was our right, nationally, domestically and legitimately, to use the same weapon. Until then there was no arming or training in the Sudan. We started arming and training personnel to defend democracy and freedom, since arms had been used to assassinate democracy and freedom. We entered into numerous confrontations with the regime by arms, whether in the form of an armed forces coup or in the form of armed civilians combatting the forces. We have not shifted to this type of struggle for the first time. We held political strikes previously during al-Numeiry's regime, we held popular mobilizations in the streets and we carried out popular uprisings and student uprisings numerous times. This does not mean that we will abandon this armed struggle now, and we are calling upon the new classes of the Sudanese people, by whom I mean workers, students, intellectuals, professionals,

white collar workers, and farmers in the modern sector in the Sudan and the Sudanese masses in the capitals — the tripartite capital and the capitals in the provinces — to exercise civil disobedience, that is, to stop working, and political strikes, that is, to have workers suspend work, students their study, and farmers their farming. This in no way means that we have abandoned the armed aspect of our movement or have shifted to another aspect.

Rather, the fact which is obvious to us now is that 90 percent of the Sudanese armed forces are not on the side of the regime. There are political organizations within the armed forces, and there are neutral forces which do not belong to any organizations; these are called the salvation forces. The entire armed forces are not on the side of the authorities. Our basic struggle is with the authorities, so why should we attack the armed forces? We realize that they are not on the side of the authorities in their hearts and in their minds, because they are in inseparable part of the Sudanese people, who feel their pains, are living through their tragedy and know the extent of the problems facing the Sudan now, the extent of the tragedies the Sudanese people are living through and are the base in the towns and the provinces. Every Sudanese, and every Sudanese family, has come to experience these problems now. It is said that the armed forces have privileges apart from the other classes of the people in terms of salaries and other things. The fact is that even if these benefits exist, a soldier cannot cope with his needs as a result of them. If he could, a large part of his family that has been reduced to poverty in terms of the living standard would have started to depend on him. Even his relatives in the provinces would have started to depend on him. Thus the weight of the oppression of the living standard has started to be directed horizontally and vertically against the soldier. Consequently, the armed forces are not now in the ranks of the regime. We consider that there is no reason for us to enter into a struggle with the armed forces. They, in their hearts, are not on the side of the regime. However, as you know, armies have discipline and order. They cannot speak at all and cannot demonstrate with the emotions they prefer. We consider that there is no cause for us to get into skirmishes with the forces which we know are not on the side of the regime, and, while there are a few mercenaries getting double salaries and enjoying many advantages with the regime, that is just a minority in the higher ranks and a minority in the intelligence [service] which represents no body, no conscience, no emotions in the Sudanese army.

Thus we consider that there is no cause for struggle between the opposition and the armed forces in the Sudanese army, because as a result of study, through our presence inside the Sudanese army, (which is all in the form of organizations), and because of our firm awareness of public opinion in the Sudanese armed forces, we consider that it is in opposition and that it is in no way wise to get into an armed struggle with the opposition. There is no cause for blood to flow. Our struggle is not with the armed forces but against the ruling regime. The armed forces themselves are not participating in the regime in power, but they call for its defense whenever a crisis erupts. For 12 years, the armed forces have not been ruling. Our anger is politically directed against the regime. Therefore we consider it appropriate to direct this anger in a popular manner and not to start with a struggle against armed forces whose sympathies we know full well and which we know full well are aware of the current tragedy their country is going through. We know that they are trying various means to save their country from these

problems. In our appeal for a civil strike, political disobedience and political mobilization, we have said that the armed forces will not strike out at our people, who are isolated, poor and living through a daily tragedy and want to change the regime which is grinding them down with all this oppressiveness in living standards, economy, morality, administration and performance. The armed forces cannot strike out at a people whose problems they know and who they know have not risen up in civil rebellion, have not stopped working to strike and have not caused civil disobedience. We have said that they will not strike out at them even if they get orders.

A recent example occurred a few days ago in the town of al-Abyad. The armed forces did not take part in striking out against the citizens. A month before that a popular gathering occurred in the town of 'Atharah, and the armed forces did not stand up to it. We now hope, request and realize that the armed forces will not stand up to the masses of an isolated, poor people whose authority has collapsed, and in whose country there is no performance and no management, whose country is bankrupt, and who are lacking the essentials. They cannot direct their arms against them. If a few people do dare to direct their arms, the majority is able and sufficient to discipline them.

After that, we have said that if the bulk of the Sudanese army does direct its weapons against the masses of the Sudanese people, whose causes it knows, whose problems it knows, whose tragedies it know -- and knows that they have not moved, have not gone on strike and have not stopped to work in spite of the fact that the masses of the Sudanese people are waiting for salvation from it, because it bears arms -- if, after that, it does move to strike out at the poor people who are demanding their rights, we have forces which are armed, trained, and capable of defending the masses of the Sudanese people who ought to go on work strikes and stop work in order to show their verdict on the regime before the Sudan and before the whole world.

We have not abandoned armed struggle, but our means now are political strikes, civil disobedience and popular mobilization, and the protection for this are the armed forces, which are an inseparable part of the people and know the people's tragedies and know why they are striking and stopping work. Consequently, the armed forces will not strike out at them. If what we are not anticipating happens, and they do take part in striking out at them with their group, at that point we will be compelled to defend the popular movement with the trained armed people we have. We are confident that they are able to protect the popular movement.

The weapons of protest against the regime are numerous. People have the right to choose any weapon, at any time, at any place, according to objective field studies, and we now believe that this weapon must be used, and we are brandishing it, not because we have ceased to use other weapons but rather because we believe that now is the time when we must brandish this weapon.

Question You anticipate that strikes and civil disobedience will be a kind of expression of popular unity against the regime, then that this popular unity will reach its climax when the military joins it. Is this the objective?

[Answer] My brother, we are confident that more than 90 percent of the people are opposed to this regime, opposed in word, in heart or in hand. We are certain that revolution exists in the hearts of the masses and that they need a wick to ignite it. Consequently, the experience of civil strikes, political disobedience and popular mobilization is the experience of accumulating and forging opposition forces, not of demonstrating their presence, because their presence is recognized even by the regime itself. When the Sudanese army does not take part in striking out at a people who have just suspended working, who have not committed sabotage, who have not struck blows, who have not made raids, when it abstains from that, that means that a natural alliance has occurred between the Sudanese armed forces and the rest of the Sudanese people and that the authorities actually have fallen, as they are now falling, in terms of administration, performance and the law.

[Question] Since the discussion is about the isolation and fall of the authorities in power, the Sudan appears economically exhausted to the point where it sometimes seems that a remedy by any government is out of the question. Does the opposition have any solution except criticism? How would you yourselves face up to the economic problem?

Our Economic Alternative

[Answer] That is an appropriate question. If I were to continue to describe the economic problems and problems in the living standard which the Sudan is suffering from, and the bankruptcy which it has witnessed through various figures and examples, this discussion would take hundreds of hours. However, the fact of the matter is that we -- I and you, the Sudanese, the rest of the world, the entire banking and economic community, and the foreign countries -- know that the Sudan is economically bankrupt and lacks only a declaration of its bankruptcy. Thus such talk about economic bankruptcy and the lack or scarcity of goods is real fact. People often tell us, "Why do you make trouble for yourselves, these authorities in power have collapsed economically, and after them economic reform will be out of the question, or will be a miracle or a near miracle."

However, we nationalists, cannot be won over by this thinking. We believe that when the authorities keep on going for one day that constitutes a whole year of added economic collapse. Consequently, we, as citizens, in the first place, must immediately put an end to these authorities, because the beginning of their end is present now. Thus, lest the problems which now exist multiply, economically, administratively, in terms of performance, and morally, and each day becomes an entire year of collapse, it is our duty, as citizens, to face up to the issues of our country, just as it is our duty as citizens to stand up to defend its borders if an enemy crosses them. We have no excuse for saying that the situation is so desolate that it is prompting us to give up. National duty would accuse us of treason if we said that. This is the first point.

In the second place, we have said, and I can assert to you, that we have a specific solution for the economic problems which exist in the Sudan now, which have reached a point where many people consider there is no solution. I cannot describe the specific solutions to you now. However, I will give you four or five points which constitute an economic program of salvation which will be applied by a nationalist regime and which all Sudanese will be unanimous over, so that it can succeed.

The first program is to have the supply of goods become greater than the demand for them, so that there will be no scarcity of goods, no black market, and no speculation in goods, so that the cycle of commodities which has been disrupted will be restored and continue its course, so that supplies of goods in the markets will be greater than the demand for them.

In the short range, we will import amounts of goods adequate to make the Sudanese citizen confident that whenever he asks for a commodity he will find it and not feel himself compelled to store up at home, which is now happening in the Sudan. For example, whenever a citizen finds a commodity, instead of buying his requirements in it for a day or a week, he buys his requirements in it for a year, because inside he believes that he will not find it again. He competes with others for it and raises its price. The merchants in the black market exploit this. We will provide the basic commodities, and even semi-basic ones, capital goods and quasi-capital goods, in volumes adequate to make the supply of them greater than the demand for them, to the point where anyone consuming them can be sure that whenever he wants them he will find them and will not be compelled to store them. Thus we have a study on necessary commodities which are in short supply or are absent. We know approximately what their cash volume is, and we can stress that through our contacts we will be able to provide the necessary sums to buy all the goods which will restore commodity equilibrium to the Sudan, that is, an equilibrium between commodities and prices, an equilibrium between supply and demand, and indeed a surplus of supply over demand in the first stage, and I can assert to you that we will provide the sums which will ensure this, which might exceed \$1 billion.

We will open up all import permits — that is, we will abrogate permits, so that no commerce in permits will take place. We will just register imports in the first stage and open them up. At the same time, we will not fight merchants by bringing goods into ration cards or through civil courts, pricing, and storehouse inspection, because that is actually what the merchants want. If the goods are put under pricing, they will disappear, their prices will increase and the merchant's profit on them will increase. We will deal with the problem, and I do not mean that we will fight the merchants. We are requesting their cooperation, but the policy we will apply will be to have goods overflow in the market to the point where the citizen will start to find them in every shop, in every region, in every capital and so that the merchant will not be able to exploit his monopoly control over them, as is happening now. At the same time, without prohibiting the merchant from importing, the government will import all types of goods as a preventive reserve which it will have on hand so that it can offer them on the market if it feels that merchants are trying to exploit and restrict prices. At that point the merchant will be afflicted only materially with losses. You do not fight the merchant through pricing and coupons, which create a black market, because this is what he wants and this is where he makes a profit. You fight him through material losses. If he stores commodities, and you import 10 times the volume in demand, he will then be compelled to sell them for fear of suffering damage.

We are prepared to bring the commodities which are in short supply or, more precisely, what is in demand, because there are no goods in the Sudan at all, in a period which will not exceed a few weeks, when a total glut will occur to the Sudan in all these goods, when supply is surplus to demand in a large and obvious manner,

when the citizen becomes self-confident and does not buy more than he requires, goods are not stored in homes, and the merchant becomes afraid and contents himself with a modest profit, and after we become confident that the trade cycle which had been broken off has resumed its course once again, and once we become confident that all storehouses -- those of importers and those of retailers, wholesalers, merchants in the provinces and merchants in villages in the provinces, and the storehouses of the government itself -- have become fully glutted with goods, we will provide for the preventive reserve, and, after that, as I told you, we will restore an equilibrium between supply and demand. At the beginning it will be necessary for us to make supply surplus to demand so that we can restore confidence among consumers, inspire the merchant who wants to gamble on the black market with fear and eliminate household storage, which is the most dangerous type of storage.

They Are Able To Provide Assistance

Your question is natural -- that is, where will you get these sums from, when the country is bankrupt? I will not name the people we will get assistance from. All I will tell you is that we are a source of confidence as regards the use of public funds on the people's behalf, and that is the way we have been. We now know sources of liquid cash and places where it exists, and we know the sources of production goods, their export and their real prices. We, in our opposition activity, are not just active in publicity and training, we are active in studying also, in seeking a solution to the problems which now exist, and contacts in this regard. What I would like to stress to you is that we know exactly how great the shortages in commodities are, we know their prices exactly, we know where they can be gotten quickly, and we can stress that we have confirmation from people about whom doubts cannot be raised that what the Sudanese people require to live at a human living standard will be available if there are responsible, stable authorities which are desired by the people in the Sudan.

This is the first stage. The second stage is continued development, a continued guarantee of the soundness of the Sudanese economy. We will study all the development projects which exist now. We will correct any project which has been touched by corruption or disturbances. We will stop any project which was created just for the sake of a bribe, has no productivity or profitability, and is a failure in terms of economic feasibility. We will guide development but we will not stop it. More correctly, we will increase it. We are also convinced that the money to be spent on clean development in the interests of the Sudanese people exists.

The third stage demands that we, the Sudanese, must take part in remedying our collapsed economy and not just rely on the outer world, because you know that the aid and investments which come from abroad come from the savings of people and are given to other people to help them; a people who do not help themselves are not entitled to be given the savings of other peoples, because the other peoples themselves can spend their savings to increase their own individual incomes, increase their wages, or increase welfare. You can now see the battles that are going on over increasing wages in the world in order that inflation rates may drop. The same countries in which these battles are going on are the ones the Sudan goes to so that they can give money stupidly to it to spend.

We will restore equilibrium to the Sudan's domestic and foreign economy. That is, we will restore equilibrium between expenditures and income and will restore equilibrium in the context of foreign currency between exports and imports. We will not keep any class from enjoying privileges it now has. Secondly, we will not demand "belt tightening," which is the expression prevalent in the Sudan, because in our country there are no longer any stomachs and consequently there will no longer be any belts -- although in our country there is conspicuous consumption, mostly on security and army intelligence (I would not say on the army itself), and on big parties, bribes, and a corrupt organization like the Socialist Union. These are all parasitic class bribes which we will all eliminate with the stroke of a pen.

Restoration of Confidence in the Pound

We can also make the prices of commodities drop by 300 percent. That may surprise you, since the Sudan is now importing at what al-Numayri calls the "parallel price." The black market price is the foreign currency black market price; that is, a dollar equals a pound and a pound sterling equals 2 and a quarter pounds. If you look at that you will find that that increases prices 100 percent, which also reflects an increase in costs, marine transport, insurance, and the profits of merchants and the black market. We will guarantee a currency at which we import at the official rate for Sudanese currency, that is, at half the rate at which commodities are bought now, and will offer them on the market at that rate. Now, however, the Sudanese merchant buys at the parallel price, as the government calls it, or at the black market price, as we call it; that is, he must find foreign currency. This is the first government in the world which ignores its responsibility to provide foreign currency for bringing the necessary commodities into its country. The merchant goes and buys foreign currency with Sudanese pounds, and the value of the Sudanese pound is in the doldrums. The government allows him to do this and thus adds all the differentials in the prices of foreign currency brought on the black market to the commodities, so that inflation here, added to the shortage of goods and the black market, becomes 200 or 400 percent greater than the inflation imported from the world. The level of inflation in the world, for example, is 15 percent; with us, it is 300 percent greater. We will eliminate this regime and will get the hard currency needed to import commodities at the official price of the Sudanese pound. That will raise the value of the Sudanese pound and will free the Sudanese importer to find hard currency through his responsible government in order to buy his needs, be they consumer or capital needs.

This will require a reduction in the prices in our midst by fantastic amounts, in the first place, since the price increase now results from the increases in currency, not from increases in the prices of the commodities themselves. For example you can go to the market in Jiddah and sell a Sudanese pound for 3 riyals, then buy a pound sterling for 9 riyals, as if you had bought a commodity at 300 percent of its price. However, if you have pounds sterling, you can buy them at their real price, including inflation of perhaps 12 percent; inflation now is an inflation in the lack of an adequate foreign balance in consumption. Consequently, the government gives a permit to anyone presenting foreign currency. The merchant buys this currency by smuggling out Sudanese pounds, for Sudanese crops, and selling them abroad; bringing goods in from abroad then adds 300 to 400 percent to their price. This explains to you how a few people monopolize

commodities and create a black market, and how commodity prices in our midst are rising more than in the other areas of the world.

Living Is Cheaper in Lebanon!

I would like to ask you, since you are from Lebanon, and since there is a war in Lebanon of which not 10 percent is in the Sudan -- in fact, there is a series of connected wars -- you know that goods are cheaper in Lebanon than they are in the Sudan and more available than they are in the Sudan. You know that previously we used to supply Ethiopia, Uganda, Central Africa and Chad with goods. Now, some of these countries, like Chad, are in the midst of an oppressive civil war and nonetheless it is they that are supplying us with commodities. Our solution to the economic problem has three prongs: the urgent problem is to increase the supply of goods over the demand for them, then create equilibrium between supply and demand, then create equilibrium between commodities and money. There is no equilibrium between commodities and money; commodities are fixed and expensive, the value of money is depressed, and large amounts of printed money which has no backing are chasing after a few goods. Here, absolutely, is where prices rise.

Question What does restoring domestic and foreign confidence in the Sudanese pound mean?

Answer Restoring domestic and foreign confidence in the Sudanese pound will occur only by changing the existing authorities. The duties of the authorities which come to power will be as I told you. Development can take place in the Sudan only if that happens, because the inflation in any development taking place in the Sudan now will be 400 percent, since the prices of even domestic materials are rising, because their components are from abroad. Even the wages of Sudanese workers are high because they are living on these expensive commodities. First you must eliminate this fabricated inflation, which is an inflation of currency, by creating confidence among Sudanese consumers by creating cooperation with merchants who will feel that they will lose all their capital and by eliminating the black market, and then, after that, you must study each development project separately. Our study of them has been completed. You must re-manage, reoperate and reorganize what is of benefit, what is not beneficial, you must eliminate, and you must proceed with development, because development does not stop. Third, you must restore the Sudanese economy itself to balance -- an internal balance between spending and income and a foreign balance between exports which bring in foreign currency and imports which require foreign currency -- all without putting pressure on the masses of people, because there is nothing left to put pressure on them with. They are now in a state of hunger and you cannot ask anything of them. We have studied this problem and prepared ourselves for it, and I can assert to you that all that it will require exists now. The difference is that this regime must depart, because, with this regime in being, such a policy cannot come about.

We and the International Monetary Fund

Question The gist of your statement is that foreign economic support for the Sudan will depend on the existence of a regime which enjoys international confidence, but the program raises a question which cannot be avoided: in your

capacity as a former minister of finance, you know that this kind of proposal will clash with International Monetary Fund programs -- both those set out for the Sudan and those for countries which are going through similar conditions -- in respect to two points: the devaluation of the currency and limitations on the provision of commodities to citizens in the Sudan, as in Egypt, for example.

Answer First, I did not say that the regime should enjoy the confidence of foreign countries; I said that the regime must acquire the confidence of the Sudan. If it does acquire the confidence of the Sudanese, then presumably it will acquire that of foreign countries.

Second, I know all the advice of the International Monetary Fund, in which I took part for close to 5 years. The International Monetary Fund is calling for devaluation of the Sudanese pound, and there is absolutely nothing at all of benefit to us in that. The Sudan has devalued the pound three times without making an announcement. It is on the way to devaluing it a fourth time. You devalue the Sudanese pound if you feel that the agricultural products produced in your country are meeting competition from other countries producing the same commodities, and you lower your exchange rate in order to sell more. The opposite is happening with us now: the prices of the commodities we produce are very high in the world, and, had it not been for al-Numayri's bad performance in the past 10 years, we would now be the equal of the oil countries in terms of reserves. The prices of our commodities, such as cotton, peanuts, sesame and gum arabic, have risen seven times over their level in 1969, but their production has been lost in bribes and we have not benefited from them at all. Consequently, even if we devalue the pound, that will be of no use. We will devalue the pound if our goods in the market compete with other countries' goods which are cheaper. If Nigeria, for example, devalues its currency, or if Ghana, or countries producing cotton, devalue, we may do so. This is not happening and we can convince the Monetary Fund of that. The Monetary Fund in the Sudan is always putting pressure in directions where conspicuous consumption is greater than income and where there is no income. It knows that if it demands a reduction in spending that will not be possible, because spending comes out of one mouth, without study, and the Ministry of Finance has no power to block spending. Therefore, no curbs on conspicuous consumption will be rejected by the International Monetary Fund.

Then, we are in a state of emergency. That does not mean that we agree with everything the Monetary Fund says, or everything its delegation which comes to the Sudan says. We can differ with this delegation and go directly to the Monetary Fund, whose task is international balance, and convincing it of this point, because it is a point which is economically clear. I do not know how the Monetary Fund agreed to imports without foreign currency and how it will now agree to imports at the parallel price, knowing that this will raise the inflation rate by 100 percent and create instability. The International Monetary Fund is an advisor, and we know what its policy is. We are certain that if we explain our policy and the source from which we can provide financing for the policy that is agreed upon, and if this policy is economically wise, the Monetary Fund will agree to it and indeed will help achieve it.

Our Program Is Convincing Abroad and Domestically

I say that our economic program will be convincing to people who have liquid funds and to people who have long helped the Sudan and whose funds have gone to waste. They see themselves paying, and they see the Sudanese going hungry and emigrating from their country. However, we will never set out a plan to beg for alms. Rather, we will set out an economic plan for salvation and development through which we can win over people who possess liquid cash for a country whose development resources are limitless. In fact, I might tell you that we won over most of them now, and we will win over economic public opinion in the world and the international organizations with it by describing the current situation, because when these delegations go to the Sudan they are given fantastic figures or the facts are hidden from them, and they go for 7 or 8 years and present incorrect figures with incorrect interpretations. We will explain the situation and will explain our plan, which is the only plan that can provide a remedy. We are confident that money circles in the world, economic organizations and countries which have the power to help us will be won over by them. Otherwise, what interest would they have in a bankrupt Sudan from which they are unable to reclaim their debts, and which itself disrupts the international balance and increases the world economic crisis, and from which there is no benefit, such as functioning as a "bread basket" at a time when famines are widespread, or a place to increase agricultural land at a time when it is declining throughout the world? What would be the benefit if the Sudan goes on like this? I am confident that even the Sudanese merchants will all cooperate, will content themselves with just a modest profit, and will change all their methods in order to try to save their country, because what interest do they have in a Sudanese consumer who has nothing to buy with and finds commodities he does not have the power to buy? The interests of people in moderate conditions and the small merchants we represent is having economic vigor, increased sales and reduced profits, since increased sales will take the place of increased prices. In a country which is all a black market, one can only benefit, as is the case now, by five or tenfold increases. However, in a country, which has goods available and where the consumer or farmer gets the benefits of his production himself, his productivity will increase with the increase in production accessories from the government — when it performs its duty of providing all production accessories, giving the farmer the right to produce at its basic world price, which will increase his buying power. He will meet this by supplying goods and he will create economic vigor. Thus, even the merchants will cooperate, because they are nationalists in the first place; the farmers will cooperate because their morale will rise and they will receive prices for their goods. Their prices in the world are high, but the prices they receive in the Sudan are only 10 percent of them as a consequence of the fact that the government does not have the wherewithal for production, machinery, fertilizers, insecticides, management of performance but does have a marketing system which has a corrupt relationship with the middlemen. This all brings poverty to the farmer, who leaves the field and emigrates in order to work abroad.

Return of the Emigrants

Question Do you expect that the restoration of economic revival will bring back the staffs and the manpower who fled some time ago?

Answer In 1968, I was part of an Arab delegation touring the Arab countries. Every Arab country I went to asked me for hundreds of Sudanese teachers, engineers,

doctors, professionals and technicians. My country's need induced me only to provide dozens. Now, however, all of them, from the highest levels to agricultural workers, have fled the Sudan and gone abroad. We are most intensely happy to contribute to development in the Arab countries, but our brothers know that development in our country will also benefit the Arab region itself. I am confident that with the return of political stability, economic stability, and stability in the living standard, and with the abundance of goods and the low cost of living in the Sudan, a large number of these people will return, enough to revive development in the Sudan and create economic stability. The capable persons who can modify the corrupt and ignorant policies that exist now will return.

A further number will remain in the Arab countries who will be adequate for the development projects in those countries and also through their foreign incomes will help revive the Sudanese economy.

Question This is as far as the economic alternative is concerned. What about the political alternative? What is a positive alternative? Is revenge against the current regime and the men in it part of your program?

Answer People talked a great deal about an alternative before this, and I always believed that people who talked about an alternative to Numeiry's regime were either benefiting from the regime -- and those were few in number -- or were people who were afraid to adopt a positive stand against al-Numeiry, because it is clear to every Sudanese that Numeiry does not need any alternative; you can pick any Sudanese up off the street or stand in front of any mosque and pick up any Moslem coming out of it, and he will be a better alternative than Numeiry.

Numeiry has been tried for 12 years, and he has not improved. Rather, he has harmed everything. Thus talking about an alternative to him is in itself just a pretext for people who are standing on the fence in what they know to be a basic struggle for their country, and they therefore run away by asking about an alternative. Nonetheless I can tell you that the alternative is not a person. We have been afflicted by the rule of persons, and by the rule of the individual; everything we are suffering from now comes from individual rule. Someone who asks about the alternative as an individual is a person who is content to be tyrannized by an individual, and wants his tyrannization to be continued by another person.

The alternative, my brother, is a "policy," not a "politician." The alternative is a collective popular policy for saving the country, not a single person to whom one can point by finger or call by name. All the masses of the Sudanese people are opposed to such a system. Thus, the alternative is a national regime in which everyone will take part for the sake of saving the country; I am not saying through functional participation, but rather through unanimity in supporting it to help it save the country.

Domestically, the policy of such an alternative is freedom and democracy, with extreme caution lest this freedom and democracy be taken as a cause for the permissiveness which brings on coups. The alternative, sir, is to grant democratic freedoms along with a judiciary which is free in its formation and ranks, inside and outside the courtroom, so that it may be an independent authority neutral

between the executive rule and the public. The fourth alternative is the press, not a press which is just run by the state or that is run by people who can follow any platform; rather, it can be run by groups, corporations or groups of people, so that it can help in the salvation.

Naturally, freedom and democracy mean a multiplicity of parties, but that does not mean the return of parties in their old forms and circumstances. Rather, careful stock must be taken of the conduct of the people who were in politics during the 12 years of the existing regime. Purged, renewed, codified parties must come about with well understood principles and programs. It should be left to the Sudanese people to judge for or against them.

In economic policy, I already explained our program to you. However, on domestic policy, performance and administration must be restored to the regime, its respect must be restored, what is well known about it now (which is that every person who was an employee at the highest or lowest rank was corrupt and that work was carried out only through bribes must be eliminated, purity and chasteness must be restored to the government, its equity among individuals and among groups must be restored, and its equalities must be restored to all, in particular its stand with the toiling classes whose state has worsened.

Our Nationalism Is Not Racial, Religious or Hostile

The alternative, in Arab policy, is our Arab position, which is derived from the Khartoum conference, which took a clear position regarding the central Arab cause of Palestine. The position has been respected within the Arab countries, since we gave advice and our advice was heard. We said the truth in front of everyone, our position always was to honor everyone, and our position will be a unity of objectives to deliver up our usurped land and our destroyed rights, especially in Palestine and in Jerusalem. As for our position on Arab nationalism, we are in favor of it and we do not think that it conflicts with our African nature. We are the true expression of the two admixtures, the intermixture between the Arab and African regions, and mutual benefits to each region. Our Arab nationalism is a peaceful, linguistic nationalism, not a racial nationalism, not a religious nationalism, and not a hostile nationalism. Rather, it is a peaceful nationalism whose basis is acceptance, whose basis is respect, whose basis is commingling with other nationalisms to create a free world.

As to what you said about revenge, we are absolutely not vengeful at all; however, we do not say "God has pardoned what has happened in the past," because we said that after the October revolution and it brought May upon us. We say, "In the settlement of accounts, you may have life, the prime quality," the meaning of "life, the prime quality" being that your future is related to your making a just settlement of accounts in order to correct your path.

An obvious phenomenon of al-Bashir's rule is that at the beginning there were people who were convinced that there was a real change and supported him; afterward, they confirmed that there was no change, and they became alienated. There were people who collaborated in this support, then were tortured, killed and imprisoned, and who are now afraid of their destiny. There are people who have

become alienated from this regime even in the last months of this year. Thus, the position of the Sudanese masses on the regime has been taken over periods of time. The closest friend of al-Numayri's a year ago might be his greatest enemy today. We cannot adopt capricious, exaggerated revenge and cannot adopt Numayri's policies against the opposition, against people who had stood against us up to now. However, we will adopt the thorough examination and stock-taking which the hand of the law, the hand of the government and the hand of justice and the independent judiciary take, in which the humanity and human nature of the accused are respected, and not do as al-Numayri did, when he tortured. We will honor the word of the independent judiciary, will execute it, and will not resort even to expropriation or nationalization against persons whom we know benefited from this regime. Rather, we will resort to the system of sequestration, so that we can sift the truth from falsehood, know, and return to Caesar what is Caesar's and to God what is God's, nonetheless with full respect for the humanity of the individual, because for 12 years we have been expelled, imprisoned, killed and tortured, without national identity. We have experienced this ourselves and we cannot try it out against others. Our alternative cannot be the treatment al-Numayri shows us. We cannot forgive great crimes for the sake of the country, and therefore you can be sure that we will not seek revenge and that we will leave no one a way to seek revenge at all. Rather, our slogan will be thorough investigation and just legal stock-taking which the hand of the state will adopt and in which a chaste independent judiciary will render judgment.

[Question] A direct political question: what is the truth of what is being said, to the effect that President Numayri is sick and that contracts have been made with politicians to form something resembling a "regency council" or "heir?" Have you been involved in the contacts?

We Are Not People al-Numayri Would Designate As Heirs!

[Answer] First, I personally wish President Numayri will recover if he is sick; there is no malicious joy over illness in our political adversity. We, in our political struggle, do not attach any objectives to his illness, whether it is grave or minor. There is no malicious joy over illness. Consequently, there will be no changes in our goals if he is sick or well. If he is sick, we wish him, as we wish every sick person, recovery.

As for what has been said about his wanting to bequeath the regime to certain people, that is correct. I believe that if Numayri had a son he would have appointed him heir when he was an infant. Even if he could have produced a son from a test-tube he would have appointed him heir, and if he could have appointed anyone he liked as an heir, the way he appoints people he likes as ministers, he would have done so. That has happened. Talk about his wanting to leave an heir, and talk about his wanting to create a regency, is valid. However, we are not among those whom al-Numayri is in a position to designate as heirs, because there will never be any durability to his policies if he appoints us as heirs, and he knows that. I do not believe that we are among the people he wants to designate as trustees of a legacy as burdened down and reprehensible as this. Contacts have been made to parties among us; these are in reality parties who are always vacillating. If they feel that the regime has weakened, they will rush back to

their old partisanship and come to us in haste, obeying the man bringing the call. If they feel that the government is getting stronger, they will leave, and we will not see them for a long time. It is with the likes of these that contacts have been made. Perhaps they have gotten in touch with some colleagues who are in a position to listen to them. I know them by name, I know them by their conduct, I know them by their combative history, their history with the struggle between the party and the opposition during this period, and over these years none of them have dared talk to me.

What I want to tell you is that I have repeatedly declared that we do not reject the principle of reconciliation. However, neither Numeiri, his heirs, or his regents want a political reconciliation. They want a reconciliation based on positions. Someone will appear from the midst of these shabby people and tell one of our colleagues, "we will give you seven ministries." We cannot be so stupid, or so treacherous, as to take part in a regime which has shown all its bad aspects and gone on for 12 years oppressing and impoverishing people. We are adherents of political reconciliation and are not adherents of a reconciliation of positions or participation in a corrupt regime. Otherwise we will have participated in all its evils since it began, in its current evils, and in its future evils. We are proponents of a reconciliation through which the current structure of the regime may disappear -- its single party, its political organization, its deteriorating performance, its failing economy, its bribery, its bad management, its lack of morality, the deterioration of the morals of our people alongside it. All the difficulties which have been created for our people are not the result of the introduction of ministers or the departure of ministers, but are the result of the structure.

We want a proper democratic regime with specific powers and authorities in which consultative rule will be the main buttress. We are calling for total democracy in our country, and not just in our country but in all parts of the Arab and African region, because we say that if a man does not enjoy democracy and security in his home, he will not fight for his country, and consequently everything you hear about reconciliation is just talk among shabby people. It is talk which cannot dare to address us, and at the same time does not dare to address Numeiri with advice -- it is the talk of intimate gatherings, wayward and corrupt rumors of a band of shabby people who are afraid for their interests and are talking among themselves. We are not a party to them. We are a single party for replacing the structure of the current regime with another regime which is democratic from the tip of its toes to the last hair on its head. We are proponents of the democratic appeal, not just in the Sudan but its sovereignty in the entire Arab area.

Question: Talk about the situation in the Sudan moves us on to the situation in neighboring countries, especially Chad and Ethiopia. How do you view the evolution of events in these two countries?

Answer: In Chad, there is a civil war which is devouring the good land and the bad. If you want to learn the civilized world's view of the backward countries, you see no talk about Chad. If one millionth of this happened in a European country, or even in Latin America, the world would have turned itself inside out!

In Chad, people are being killed by the hundreds and are being uprooted by the millions and you find only a total blackout.

The authority in Chad is legitimate, as set out by the Lagos conference, headed by President Ndiaye Goukouni, who is a sound, peace-loving citizen who fought against colonialism. He is bold and intrepid. The person who has risen up against him is his defense minister Hisssein Habre. Many countries in the Arab world and the African world, most unfortunately, are helping the rebellious defense minister. However, although the people helping him are few in number, and can be counted on the fingers of one hand, President Goukouni has, through his bravery and the bravery of the people standing alongside him, been able to stand against all these forces. We are on his side, but al-Nimayri is on Hisssein Habre's side, and al-Salat is on Hisssein Habre's side.

In Ethiopia, we have a presence in mountainous areas, forest areas, river areas and areas over which no central government in the Sudan or Ethiopia has authority. We are basically not afraid of any rapprochement between the Sudan and Ethiopia, since rapprochements have occurred between Ethiopia and the Sudan dozens of times these 12 years and that has not affected us. In spite of that, we believe that neither is President Nimayri able to liquidate the Eritrean revolution in the Sudan, with its military or popular presence, nor is President Mengistu able to liquidate the Sudanese revolution in Ethiopia -- if their attempts are to that end. However, if an attempt is being made toward the end of friendship, I do not know how friendship could be established between the socialist Mengistu, well known for his socialism and a man who has taken stands against bases in other countries, and Nimayri, who is making common cause with American policy, to which he recently gave the Saakin base which is essentially directed against Ethiopia. One of the two men must be trying to deceive the other. We are not concerned with improving political relations between any two countries; rather, we are concerned whether that affects the revolution and its existence. I can tell you that this is not affecting us one iota. We are not concerned if these presidents are friends. We are not concerned with the resumption or severance of diplomatic relations between one regime and another. We know for sure, because we know the geography in these areas, that no change will affect us. We have been following up on developments in this change for a while, and the people who are striving toward it, and we know the goals and objectives of each party to it. Therefore we took a cautious position a long time ago.

Question Will the southern Sudan be a center of gravity in favor of the regime or an ally of yours? What are your solutions for the south? What is your opinion on the offer to grant autonomy to other provinces?

We Will Strengthen Autonomy in the South

Answer The position of the Sudanese people regarding the southern Sudan has been clear since the conference of the Sudanese parties and since the conference of the round table and the committee of twelve. We, the Sudanese popular opposition -- and the entire Sudanese masses in the north -- are all in favor of provincial autonomy for the southern Sudan, as was stated in the Addis Ababa

agreement. In fact, we are in agreement on supporting it, increasing its powers and authorities, and increasing its financial resources. What we now consider is that many years have elapsed since the attainment of regional autonomy in the southern Sudan and not one development project has taken place. In fact, in the project the government tried to establish in the Manjara area for sugar, officials removed all the equipment and nothing was left there. Indeed, previous development projects, such as the Anwarah cotton project in the south, the fruit canning project in Wau and the rice projects in Aweil, have been permanently terminated. Peace Lake has not been established. There is now a famine in southern Sudan, like the one in Uganda, although there is a blackout on that in the daily press. There are people dying of starvation every day. Inflation has aggravated the absence of goods to the point where the prices of all commodities have become the same. You would be amazed to learn that the price of a sack of corn, which is an ordinary Sudanese consumer commodity, sells for 60 pounds, a sack of sugar for 100 pounds, and a sack of flour for 100 pounds. No services have been provided, medical or educational, and teachers have fled the entire southern Sudan. The people who had returned have emigrated, either to the location of their first migration or to northern Sudan, and have become residents suffering from unemployment, indigence and a lack of services and security. Highway robbery, theft and degradation have returned. Thus regional autonomy has been transformed into... impoverishment which exceeds [that of] the era of colonialism and into the repression of the people, and even democracy is on vacation -- al-Nurayri now dismisses parliament whenever he wants, and expels ministers whenever he wants. So the section on democracy in the Addis Ababa agreement has lapsed. What governs is Nurayri, through Abel Alier.

Question What about the extension of autonomy to the other regions?

Answer We realize that the Sudan is a country with broad expanses; you could say that it is a continent, or a subcontinent. Consequently, governing it centrally from Khartoum is out of the question, and this is something which has been known from the beginning. Through aware plans were drawn up for this so that each region could govern it. If within the context of a united Sudan.

However, this plan of Nurayri is first of all an obstacle and is not thoroughly thought out. In the first place, it is a plan without financial resources. You cannot establish autonomy in the provinces without financial resources. Aid to meet the deficit was about 12 million in our democratic era. However, Nurayri, by subdividing powers among regional parliaments, has raised the dozens to the hundreds through an increase in employees, officers, councils, cars and fuel expenses and the aid has risen to 180 million; nonetheless, no new service has taken place in any hospital, clinic, medical center or school, and not even the deterioration in them has been repaired. The students there are not even fed. Even the wages of teachers in the provinces are not being paid. If he cannot run the autonomy that exists now, how can he develop it into a full provincial government which has a council of ministers, employees and a large increase in expenditures?

He wants to rid himself of the problems of the provinces on two accounts. First he tells people, finance yourselves by yourselves. Then he adds other taxes to

the public ones; for example, the tax imposed on sugar as well as that on commodities, has doubled in the province. Consequently, the committee on direct and indirect taxes increases the repression for the sake of financing this government themselves, without having the central government share with them, so that resentment may be shifted to these provinces and the people who govern them.

The second objective is that he wants to offer a few ministers a few regional deputes to satisfy some prominent figures who can acquire his pleasure by receiving positions, such as the positions that some southerners have found. Their destiny will be no different from that of some southerners who enriched themselves and impoverished their brothers.

al-Numayri's proposal is a failure. We believe in provincial autonomy for the whole federation of the Sudan, but by carefully-studied governance carried out by honorable, chaste figures and helped by the central government with full financing for development and economic and social service.

Question Naturally it is necessary to ask about the results of the American elections. How do you expect the advent of Ronald Reagan will affect the Arab and Sudanese situation?

Answer The slogans president-elect Reagan has raised must indicate to everyone that a radical change will take place in American policy, starting with the struggle between east and west, the probability of a "cold war" and perhaps a hot one, and probable difficulties in the nuclear arms limitations talks, in addition to his stand on many issues, especially the Middle East, and his position that fear of America has vanished and must be restored.

However, I always believe that the slogans by which liberal elections are won often change when it comes to application, especially in a country like the United States. Reagan, who presented himself as an alternative to Carter, showing the weakness of Carter, the loss of fear of America, and the decline in its economy, and who presented an alternative, must, when he sees the situation from inside the administration and learns all the secrets, bring about a lot of changes in thinking and approaches.

America Brought in the Military

American policy has intervened a great deal in the Middle East; I believe that it has been one of the causes of military coups in the Middle East and that giving the CIA a free hand (which I believe is something Reagan will strive for) has made the Middle East and its rulers a game in the hands of the young CIA people who establish one regime and bring down another. This started with the belief that armies, as organizations, are disciplined, mostly trained in the Western manner and organizationally stronger than democratic parties, and consequently that enabling them to rule will strengthen stability and facilitate western politics. However, experience, since Husni al-Za'im's coup, has proved the obvious blatant failure of American policy. It has proved to the Americans that rulers resembling gods, like Emperor Haile Selassie, the Shah of Iran, Somoza,

Bokassa, Idi Amin, Tombalbaye and many similar ones have fallen and that no one has moved to help them. In fact, they became subject to worldwide disenfranchisement. It has been proved to America that military dictatorship loses its discipline and becomes dominated by corruption in many cases, and is dominated by divisiveness. Every coup devours its children one by one. It has been proved that people hate the mere military uniform that governs them.

If Reagan is a real alternative, and if he uses his mind and his information, he will have to know that, and he will have to know that everyone America relied on in the past and to whom it gave and on whom it gambled has fallen and has found nobody to take its place. It will be proved to him, first, that standing by destituted individual corrupt and failing regimes, like this regime of al-Nwayiri's, will not create stability in a country and will not create any fear of America. No one dislikes peoples. We do not dislike the American people. We dislike American policy. If Reagan wants to change the "ugly face" of the American (the title of a book recently published), he must change his policies, even the policies he has declared repeatedly. He must rely on the public opinion of peoples and respect it. He must not bet on disesteeming individual rulers. He must not fight on their behalf. He must achieve an understanding with the flow of public opinion and feel its pulse. Thus he will be able, as he won the elections in America, to win for America its self respect and awe which it has now completely lost among peoples.

Consequently, his support for a man like Nwayiri, who is isolated, hated by his people, a failure in his economic policy, corrupt in his administration, deficient in performance, and the consequences of whose rule are obvious, is to be considered only a blatant aggression against the Sudanese people from which he will reap no benefit, either he or America, and the same thing applies to a number of places.

Second, he must realize that Camp David ended with the end of its engineer and maker, Carter. He must realize that there is a real Palestinian cause, that people cannot agree to continue as refugees, and that Moslems and Christians cannot permit Jewish dominance over Jerusalem. He must view the Middle East issue objectively, especially since he is the first president since Eisenhower and Roosevelt to have absolutely not been helped by Jewish votes in the elections. In fact, the senators who went along with the Zionists fell one after the other, and he won by a majority that will enable him to pursue a just policy toward the issue of democracy among peoples and toward the Palestine cause.

If he does that, he may be able to regain for his country its awe and for the American people their respect among repressed peoples.

If he is a democrat he will have to work for democracy outside his country as well as inside it.

This is our advice to Reagan. We will be watching his policies and statements. If some of the slogans he has uttered are his real policies, we who are governed by individual rulers in the Sudan will resist these policies.

The same advice to al-Sadat: he has presented Camp David, and the Arab world has unanimously rejected it, while he has been insistent on it and has been given only a few kilometers by Israel.

He must now, and no one will criticize him, say, I tried peace, I tried concessions, with all my power, and I got nothing. He must, with the beginning of the new American administration, reject Camp David and organize Arab ranks. With his brothers he must fashion a new policy which will return Arab rights to Palestine.

Saudi Arabia: A Leap of Development

Question You are returning from the pilgrimage. Did your pilgrimage involve any political activity?

Answer God has bestowed the bounty of the pilgrimage upon us, and we have performed it many times before. We hope that the pilgrimage will be blessed by the Lord. We visited all the religious shrines, and my treatment as a pilgrim was ordinary, like that of millions of pilgrims — gracious, hospitable and estimable. The pilgrimage I went on this year was devoid of any incidents, except from any diseases, and there was nothing in it to blemish it from the Islamic standpoint. Indeed, the difference between this one and the one 3 years ago was the tremendous rapid development which had taken place, especially in the holy sanctuaries and the religious shrines, such as the great paved roads with four lanes facilitating traffic, the bridges, the causeways, the airstrips, the health services, the stable security situation, accompanied by the utmost cordiality and refinement, the organization of affairs, and supervision over the safety of the pilgrims from every aspect. The leap in development, and the great expenditures in development, made me feel as if I had never seen the area before. The organization and supervision that all the officials carried out, from the highest to the lowest, was super.

During the month I spent going among the shrines, I saw a great change in development in the economic contexts, such as streets, bridges, causeways and airstrips, active movement in Saudi aviation, modern well-equipped public transportation vehicles, security and order, such as the improvement in houses, the tripling of hotels in Mecca, Jiddah and Medina and in addition to the Pilgrim city, where every one of the 2 million pilgrims can find a place, the lack of increases in any prices during the pilgrimage, the availability of all commodities, and the total supervision by officials over this. My pilgrimage did not involve any political activity.

What I am saying is no exaggeration, and I do not mean to laud or extol anyone by it. However, what I saw, lived through and felt was seen by millions of pilgrims like me.

Question What about development in Saudi Arabia?

Answer I am a man with a lot of contacts with Saudi Arabia. However, the concerns of the Sudanese opposition in the last 3 years have preoccupied me, and I

was not able to look closely into the development which has occurred there. What I can say is that the Saudi development plan which has been completed was an ambitious, brave one.

First, it has managed to establish all the necessary economic frameworks for development, which include telecommunications and all frameworks in the form of bridges and paved roads. Second, it has managed to establish economic development projects in the field of industry. Great industrial projects have taken place which will in the case of many materials make it possible to dispense with imports. A comprehensive agricultural upsurge has occurred, especially in the Province of Abha, along with livestock and poultry raising projects, in addition to fully equipped hospitals and thousands of schools, and this has been crowned with four universities which have the most modern equipment and professors -- the Universities of Jiddah, Riyadh, al-Dammam and al-Qusaym.

More importantly, a balance between commodities and financial liquidity has occurred in Saudi Arabia, and I believe it is the only country where the inflation rate does not exceed 7 percent and in which all commodities are available at the lowest prices.

As regards the new development plan, which is said to total \$3 billion, and of which I have seen only a few points, it is ambitious and it has innovative planning behind it. What gladdens me is that all its staffs are specialized Saudis along with Arab colleagues, and I hope they will be rounded out and that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia will be in the ranks of the most advanced countries in the world.

On Iraq's Side in Thinking and in Sympathy!

[Question] The issue of the day now is the Iraqi-Iranian war; what is your appraisal of the situation?

[Answer] In the first place, the outbreak of the war is a regrettable matter. We had hoped it would not occur. In the second place, I personally was among the most intense enthusiasts of the Iranian revolution because it eliminated a tyrannical ruler and proved to the world that a people by themselves can create a revolution against a ruler who has all the weapons and all the foreign powers behind him.

However, many things occurred in the course of the Iranian revolution which upset our enthusiasm for the revolution, its authority and its stability. There should have been an organized administration. We believed that there had been individual thinking as a part of the Shiite scholars which would cause them to apply Islam in its modern social, economic and political sense. That did not happen -- indeed, regional fanaticisms occurred which almost are causing Iran to lose its unity as a country and have not been dealt with wisely. There occurred an unparalleled schizophrenia in power. No one knows where the power is -- whether it is with the president, with the prime minister, with the elected councils, with Imam Khomeini, or with the rightwing or leftwing fanatic students -- and the effect of all this on the unity of Iran, its performance, its armed forces, and its economy.

However, if you ask me about sympathies in the war between Iraq and Iran, I, brother, agree with the saying "side with your brother, oppressor or oppressed." I do not want to lie to you about my feelings in this war. I am sorry it has occurred, I side with Iraq, and I believe that this must be the position of every Arab. Secondly, I do not believe that Iraq has been the oppressor. First, its demand for full execution of the Shatt al-'Arab agreement and its demand for full execution of the Shatt al-'Arab agreement and its description of the numerous violations which have occurred in it caused it to take the current stand. Second, foreign intervention in the domestic affairs of Iraq, which assume various forms, is also clear and adequate justification for Iraq to take this position. Third, it has not refused peace with any of the delegations which have visited it up to now. Finally, I, with my belief in the restoration in every country of every Arab square inch which was taken away in the past, hope that peace, harmony and stability will prevail between Iraq and Iran, and I hope that the efforts to end this war will succeed, but not at the expense of what is right or at the expense of intervention in the affairs of Iraq.

I am personally acquainted with President Saddam Husayn, and I know his morality, example and values better than many. I am confident that he did not embark on this war until he felt a threat to Iraq's rights or to Iraq's stability. I am sure that the war with Iran was loathsome to his heart, but was a duty for him. I know that he has often taken decisions in which he overcame his sympathies for the sake of the higher interests of the Arabs and for the sake of Iraq's interests. I feel deeply that there are many conspiracies secretly going on to try to escalate this war, and perhaps many countries are taking positions against Iraq in it. I am wary of these positions and I believe that the Arabs must take a single coordinated stand against them. I am confident that all these attempts will fail.

In Favor of a Democratic, Civilized Islam

Question In a broader context, how do you evaluate the current religious phenomenon, as represented by a number of Arab and non-Arab currents?

Answer Sir, Islam is not just religious slogans. It is a religion with a civilized social content. It is a developed religion and it calls for individual thinking so that Islam may keep abreast of civilization and economic and social development. People who call themselves "obsolete," and are now clothing Islam in a fascist police garb which is introverted and undemocratic, are not Islamic in any way. We are all Moslems and intense about Islam, but we believe in a liberal advanced civilized modern modernized Islam and do not consider that it can take its place among the civilizations dominant now unless it adopts all the advanced principles of knowledge, culture, civilization and modernization. Otherwise, if the Koran is read and its contents, which the Mohammedan Moslems must adopt are absorbed, then they will not make Islam a backward religion which is stagnant and lacking development and social consciousness, and thus is always backward as a state and as a system of governance. People who make Islam an undemocratic system of governance -- and Islam is based on consultation, is a religion of tolerance -- and people who make it a backward or obsolete mode of governance basically do not know its contents, its meaning, or its cultural and social

religious basis, and it is they who are now filling the world with shouting and stirring up unislamic impulses among brothers. They are the most ignorant of people concerning Islam and they deal with Islam like a commodity which they conspire with politically. Those who are truly Moslems are those who know their religion, stand on the side of civilization and modernization and fight against fascism and police rule in the name of Islam. Those who are cut off from all culture are truly the enemies of Islam, are the ones who traffic in it, and their situation will become clear to all. Islam was never fascist in any of its pillars; rather, it was based on consultation; Islam was absolutely never a form of police rule, but was based on justice and Islamic law; it was not backward but was open to civilization and to the world, and exported different types of civilizations and sciences to the world from which the non-Islamic world is now taking a platform for development and modernization that now dominates the civilized world.

Question Since the Baghdad summit, rifts have been proliferating and following one another constantly in the Arab world. The latest subject of dissension has been the issue of the coming Arab summit. What is your opinion?

Answer I am the most sorrowful of persons regarding Arab rifts. When we were in our country, pursuing its affairs, we rushed to the two parties involved, whenever a rift occurred and repaired the dissension between them. Whenever we called for a meeting of Arabs, they all attended. Our position was neutral and independent of them all and was respected. We gave advice to everyone and accepted advice. We did not differentiate between the types and ideologies of regimes; rather, we appealed for a unity of Arab goals, which was to eliminate the existing Zionist tumor which is swelling every day within the Arab region. If you look at the situation from all aspects, you will see things in it which will not gladden you. The expression "which will not gladden you" is a weak one -- indeed, you will see things in it which will sadden you, cause you sorrow, cause you to sink in a sea of despair in which there is no shoreline. Dissension is dominating the Arab world, differences in views are filling the Arab world, and you can hardly find any regimes which are in total agreement. In fact, more calamitous and bitter than that is the fact that you do not find any regime in agreement on the main, basic goal and on the prime central cause, which is the cause of Palestine, in which they ought to have ignored all their disputes and on which they ought to have reached agreement. The Baghdad conference ought to have been a triumph, since the agreement reached at it, while a minimum, was a phenomenon of good tidings and optimism. We believed that since the conference, and since its end, work was apparent homogeneity, coordination and unity among all Arab regimes grew, and their arms flexed. Since that conference, we had hoped that we would be in a position where we would regain our usurped rights and our sacred objects. However, what a difference there is between the situation during the Baghdad conference, and in its time and the situation now! I do not need now to describe to you what is happening. Any Arab country can look at any other Arab country and see that the situation has now become grave and that the Zionists are benefiting from everything. -- is only the Zionists who are benefiting now from every rift.

Alliances and Coordination

Question From relations among Arabs to relations among opposition parties in the Sudan: What about the matter of alliances?

Answer We already spoke, you and I, about the issue of alliances in a previous conversation which you dispatched from Paris. I would like to repeat and add — especially since great noise has occurred over this alliance, which has had big repercussions from people who are afraid of it and fear it — that the alliance between us and the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party (Sudanese region), as I told you, is a basic, central one. It grows in power every day. It is stronger as I talk to you now, many times stronger, than it was when I was talking to you in the earlier conversation, and it will be stronger tomorrow and the day after tomorrow, because its pillars are, first of all, total agreement over ending the existing puppet regime in the Sudan — this is a sacred pillar as far as we are concerned — and secondly agreement over Arab unity and Arab nationalism, which we have believed in since the establishment of our party and before — indeed since we were born and our grandfathers were born. Our practice may perhaps have differed from that of the Ba'th Party, but we are in agreement with it over the goals of Arab unity and nationalism, and are in agreement with it over freedom, freedom for tyrannized peoples and individuals and democracy. We are in agreement with it on its position regarding the basic central cause of Palestine, and its positions do not differ our recommendations, which the summit conference at Khartoum agreed to unanimously in 1967: "no peace, no negotiations, no recognition, no infringement of the Palestinian cause." These recommendations are still the signpost of the cause and a barrier to the faint-headed. Thus, an alliance founded on these parties cannot be weak. Our alliance is strong, central, basic and constant. Its pillars are well known and our agreement about them is well known too. Thus, we constitute a single line. To that I can add, for you, that we have all been a single party, and those who are in the Ba'th Party now are no strangers to the Federal Democratic Party and the Federal Democratic Party is no stranger to them. Theirs is a common, clear goal, but there are people who say that the alliance has material causes. If someone says that it has military goals, arms and so forth, let him say so, though that is not the reason for the alliance. If someone says that its goals are financial, let him look at the Sudanese resistance. Twelve years of fighting and dealing with arms have passed, and there was no alliance. But, and but, our duty to struggle for our country makes it mandatory that we acquire all the resources which will enable us to liberate our country, especially since our enemy in our country is obtaining every resource from greater powers, and our relations with our brothers in the alliance are constantly rising and are always proceeding higher.

In the Sudan, there is also coordination with other people in the opposition. This alliance does not obstruct coordination at all. There might be many points of view on coordination, but all of us who represent the Sudanese opposition and who are standing against the fascist, repressive, individual regime in the Sudan are a single force with a united structure and firm foundations, agreed on eliminating this regime; whatever some of the contradictions within it might be, it is in full agreement on the basic central goal, which is to eliminate the regime.

I can almost tell you that the forces which represent the opposition even represent parties which split off from us. We stood alone in the opposition at a certain time -- we, the Ba'th Party and the Communist Party. The National Party (al-Sadiq's wing) split off from us, along with the Moslem Brothers, and I can assert to you that all the masses in the National Party, which lost its absent imam, whose destiny no one knows -- whether he was killed, who buried him, who dressed him in a shroud and who prayed over him, and he was one of the Moslems' brave imams who are followed by millions, stood alone a whole year in his island to make appeals against this regime -- this also is a reason prompting the masses of the Nationalist Party not to put faith in reconciliation with the regime, even if it was al-Sadiq al-Mahdi who made the reconciliation. The abuse and the curses which befell him and the alienation which befell him, whose outcome no one knows, occurred in the body of the al-Ansar, and it is not possible for a historic body such as them to forget the man who made the Mahdist revolution against the English, the Turks, the Egyptians and so forth; he still exists up to now. Consequently, all his masses are on the side of the forces allied against the regime. And the Moslem Brothers who were assailed by repression for 7 years by this regime, whose chief was content to be the minister of justice or public deputy in a government whose laws are still the same oppressive laws which provisionally imprisoned him for many years and imprisoned tens of thousands besides him -- how could he accept this position, under the same constitution and the same law? Many, indeed most, of the members of his parties are not on his side. There are people who created this party through self-sacrifice, abnegation and renewal, and there are people among its leaders and chiefs who take a frank position of opposition to him. Many people are standing on the side of that frank position. Consequently, the people like are names which do not have concentrated positions, and our masses are all against them. Consequently, I can say that the masses are against this reconciliation, and this will become clear and obvious in the near future, God willing.

Question What is civil disobedience? Do you actually believe in the possibility that it can succeed against a strong regime which has military and security agencies and the like? And finally, when?

Answer Civil disobedience means work stoppages, and political strikes are at the same time occupational and political strikes which the masses of the workers in each union carry out, stopping work for limited estimated numbers of days, staying at home or going to the jobsite but remaining idle. Civil disobedience is when citizens are kept at home during the strike and do not deal with the authorities. Popular mobilization is going out on demonstrations. You said that there is a government and it possesses means. This government is now collapsing and dividing. There are disputes over all its affairs, and, as I told you, the Sudanese armed forces absolutely cannot use their strength and their weapons against the naked breasts of the poor, deprived masses whose strength has been usurped, whose economy has collapsed, who are lacking health and educational services, who are lacking performance and administration, who have collapsed economically, and whose daily life from the early morning to twilight, to the evening, to the night, is almost an unendurable hell, with a black market, price inflation, absence of cash, lack of equilibrium between individual income and spending, daily

bankruptcy, lack of briskness even in trade, a lack of output among the masses of the farmers who are now not getting anything for their output and whose production is deteriorating as a result of the fact that the government has not been able to clean out channels, canals and ditches, that the water has not come on time, that tractors have not come in order to clean out the weeds, that fertilizers have not come in order to improve farming and that insecticides have not arrived in order that pests not come -- thus production declined last year and is deteriorating now. Thus there are no expenditures and no loans, and the farmers are getting almost nothing. Now their crops of cotton, corn, peanuts and rice are almost nonexistent and the future facing them is almost dark. Most farmers have migrated from our agricultural fields. The ratio of women in farming now is greater than 50 percent, whereas in 1969 it was about 3 percent -- that is, the most active young people have emigrated from farming and have abandoned it to old people or women. As regards workers, al-Numayri agreed previously to a system for organizing and arranging jobs and gave them the other 50 percent now.

The groundwork for political strikes and civil disobedience exists. Awe of the authorities is lacking -- indeed the authorities' very security is lacking, in the army, in security or in the police. Everyone senses the feelings of the masses. It is difficult for the authorities to stand up to the masses. The Sudanese popular masses are peaceful, but if they rise up and become united over something, they will carry it through without letup. I am confident of that. If some forces oppose them, the majority in the Sudanese armed forces -- and I know this because I know of the existence of organizations inside the forces -- will defeat this minority which is challenging hungry people who have no weapons, and beating them so that they can be content with hunger, so that they can be content with the bribery, corruption and despoliation in the government cap that is the work of a minority of millionaires who alone live while people are dying of hunger.

After that, there are our trained armed vanguards who will prevent blows against the people, who will defend these people, and therefore I call all Sudanese to this disobedience and these strikes:

First, in order to show their stand.

Second, in order to show their poverty and hunger.

Third, in order to show their country's political, economic and social deterioration.

Fourth, because of the absence of educational and health services in their midst.

Fifth, because of the lack and decline in their people's morals.

Sixth, because of everyone who suffers every morning from the black market, the lack of commodities, the high prices, the fact that life has become an unendurable hell.

I call them to arm themselves with the inherited courage for which they are well known and all rise up to this strike. The most important thing here is unity.

There are some superficial, factional, secondary disputes among some leaders in some parties. There are some disputes among some parties. These disputes cannot in the national context be as important as eliminating the regime. Eliminating the regime is a sacred responsibility which must rise above all vindictiveness. Therefore, unity must prevail within these parties, especially among the leaders, because the base is united. If the leaders do not become united, their responsibility will become historic, major and unforgivable. Second, there must be organization. Organization exists, but its nuclei now must be grave, sincere honest young people, and they exist. They have identities which are not known to the security [forces], in order to perform the organization. In every committee, in every district, in every quarter, in every capital, in every village these unknown young faces exist. They are filled with faith and enthusiasm and they want to save their country. They know that all the problems of their country come from this regime. They are sacrificing themselves at every cost to that end. These are the persons who must be organized now, because they are not known to the authorities, are scattered among the ranks of people, and know their concerns and problems. They have a broad relationship with various social classes which they must use. As for the timing of the strike, that is a secret I hope you will excuse me for not divulging but I appeal to God that the Sudanese people may enjoy awareness, boldness, faith and belief and set an example like the one they set in October with a single leap in a united, unwavering strike against these authorities and bring them down. If they do not bring them down, this land which has been scorched will remain scorched forever, and this generation will be wholly responsible for that. This generation must not bear this responsibility, and God always makes the right victorious. We are confident that we are right and that we will win.

11887

CSO: 4802

END

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

3/23/70

18